

Monday, February 27, 1984

THE JERUSALEM POST

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Pressure on Peres to let Meshel sink

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The clamour in the Labour Party to replace Histadrut secretary-General Yehoram Ashel mounted yesterday.

The anti-Meshel campaign, long gestation, has broken out with vigour in the wake of last week's suicide of former Bank Hapoalim head Ya'acov Levinson.

It is fuelled by those who were close to Levinson or have long wanted Meshel replaced. They have been joined by a host of odd political bedfellows to constitute a faction that not only threatens Meshel's position, but could also prove inimical to party chairman Yehoram Peres.

According to some sources in this group, they intend to serve an ultimatum upon Peres (who turned from the U.S. last night) that he agree to Meshel's ouster or the risk jeopardizing his own position as party chief. These sources said that Peres had in the past stepped in to save Meshel, but this time a vague compromise to stem the unrest in the party would work.

According to some sources, the group has already gone so far as to have worked out how to divide all the party positions among its own members if its finds that it must topple the present leadership.

Peres: Labour will draw conclusions

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Labour Party will draw the social and political conclusions from the suicide of Ya'acov Levinson, party chairman Yehoram Peres said yesterday on his return from the U.S.

Commenting on statements by Labour Knesset Members that Levinson was "murdered," Peres said that in his opinion Levinson

The one decision the group has not made is who will replace Peres as chairman in the event that he is replaced. That point was deliberately left unresolved, since the group is by no means homogeneous and to pick Labour's number one now would be to tear the group apart before it had a chance to carry out its short term aim of replacing Meshel.

Among the more prominent members of the group are those who, with Levinson, once belonged to the long defunct Beit Beri group, such as MK Uzi Baran, who was particularly close to Levinson.

But under the same political banner are heads of the rival Yehav group, headed by MK Eliyahu Seiner.

Also present are moshav movement and kibbutz movement leaders, although the latter are comprised almost solely of members of the Ihud kibbutz movement. The Meshel component of the United Kibbutz Movement is associated with the anti-Levinson forces, increasing the already tense situation within the kibbutz movement.

In private conversations, different members of the group admit they favour different candidates to lead the party in the next elections. Although Baran has been one of

(Continued on page 3)

Cabinet deferring decision on pullback

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel is deferring for the moment any decision on a new partial pullback or "redeployment" in South Lebanon. The army is not pressing for an immediate decision — and the cabinet therefore decided not to take one yesterday.

Ministers said later the "time is not ripe" for unilateral action by Israel. They denied reports that the cabinet was deeply split over what to do in Lebanon. One minister asserted that "when the time comes for decisions they will be taken unanimously, or almost unanimously."

The decision-not-to-decide was recommended by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir at the end of a two-session debate on Lebanon policy. The first session was held a fortnight ago.

The ministers heard reports and assessments from senior military and intelligence personnel. The cabinet's impression, according to several of its members, was that the army itself has not settled on a firm and definite proposal, given the quickly shifting circumstances in Lebanon.

Among the factors militating against a "redeployment" decision now are:

- Its possible effect on the political situation in Beirut. Israeli policymakers apparently have not

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Record 222 'buyers only' on stock exchange

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The share market rose sharply yesterday, with a new all-time record being set for "buyers only" situations. There were 222 individual issues which could not be traded and, as a result of the imbalance in buy and sell orders, their price was automatically advanced by 5 per cent.

Altogether 439 securities advanced by prices of between 5 and 15 per cent.

Reports from banking circles indicated that the public has come back to the stock exchange in force but has chosen to invest in mutual funds specializing in shares rather than individual securities. The mutual funds were a major buying force in yesterday's marketplace.

The current rally, which began last Thursday, is expected to continue over the next few sessions. (Full report page 7)



PLO leader Yasser Arafat is greeted by Jordanian Prime Minister Ahmed Obaidat on arrival at the Amman airport yesterday. (UPI telephoto)

As last marines leave Beirut airport: U.S. warships bombard Syrian-held positions

BEIRUT (Reuters). — U.S. warships bombarded Syrian-held areas of the Lebanese mountains yesterday minutes after the last American marines withdrew from Beirut airport to ships offshore.

This marked the end of the marines' 17-month stay in Beirut.

A U.S. military spokesman said the battleship New Jersey and the destroyer Caron opened fire after missiles were fired at an unarmed reconnaissance plane flying over Lebanon.

He declined to say who had shot at the plane or what targets the ships had hit.

But a Syrian military spokesman said Syrian air defences intercepted American fighter planes over Lebanon and that U.S. ships fired at Syrian positions in the Metn area east of Beirut. He said the barrage caused no casualties or damage.

It was the first such confrontation between U.S. and Syrian forces since December 4, when the Syrians shot down two American planes raiding their positions in the Lebanese mountains.

The Caron was also in action on Saturday night, firing 90 shells at what the U.S. military called hostile artillery positions.

The clash came as efforts to negotiate a settlement between the Christian-led government and the Muslim opposition in Lebanon marked time and a newly arranged cease-fire did little to stop sporadic

gunbattles and artillery fire.

The 1,000 marines still at Beirut airport began their final withdrawal at first light. Helicopters flew out most of the men but five tanks and other heavy equipment left on landing craft from a beach beside the airport.

As soon as the last assault craft splashed into the sea, Shi'ite Muslim gunmen raced into the marines' position on the beach and raised their militia's flag.

Breakaway Lebanese Army units allied to the militias took over the fortified networks of trenches and sandbagged bunkers which had been the marines' base at the airport.

State-run Beirut radio said Saudi mediator Rafik al-Hariri was expected to arrive in Beirut today. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

French soldier killed in Beirut

BEIRUT (AP). — A French soldier of the peacekeeping contingent in the Lebanese capital was killed yesterday when a mortar shell hit close to a French army post in the southern suburb of Tayouneh. The spokesman for the French contingent said the soldier "was killed instantly."

He was the 84th French soldier killed in Lebanon since the arrival of the French contingent in Beirut in September 1982.

Arafat in talks with Hussein on joint policy

AMMAN. — King Hussein of Jordan and PLO leader Yasser Arafat met here yesterday for talks expected to focus on coordinating their approach to the Middle East peace process.

Officials said the meeting, reopening a dialogue broken off last year because of opposition from Palestinian radicals, began at 6 p.m. at the royal palace. They gave no further details.

Arafat flew from Tunis earlier yesterday at the king's invitation.

Egypt has backed the resumption of the Jordan-PLO talks, but Arab radicals Syria and Libya and the extremist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have opposed it.

The talks were attended by Jordanian Prime Minister Ahmed Obaidat, Crown Prince Hassan and the Jordanian ministers of foreign affairs and interior.

Arafat was accompanied by his top political adviser, Hani Hassan, and four members of the PLO's executive committee — Hanna Nassir, Abdel Rahim Ahmad, Abdel Razzak Yahya and Ahmed Bou Setta.

Arafat's military chief, Khalil Wazir, who had been preparing for the talks, was not present.

PLO officials said Arafat will hold more than one round of talks with Hussein during his four-day stay in Amman.

Meanwhile, Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij who left Israel yesterday for Amman at the head of a West Bank delegation, said he would urge Arafat to negotiate with Israel.

Freij, considered a moderate on the Palestinian problem and a supporter of Hussein, told Israel television before leaving that the delegation will "closely observe" the talks between the king and Arafat.

"We will urge Arafat to join the Middle East peace process because there can never be a military solution to the Palestinian problem," Freij said.

"Time is working against the Palestinians and the only way to a solution is through political talks, mutual recognition by the PLO and Israel and negotiations by the PLO with Israel."

The PLO-Jordan dialogue was suspended last April, when Arafat failed to convince radical leaders within his movement to go along with the plan for Hussein to speak on behalf of the world's four million Palestinians in possible peace talks with Israel.

Arafat was accorded a full head- (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

U.S. to downplay Lebanon, shift focus to Palestinians

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — With the withdrawal of U.S. Marines from Beirut, and despite the occasional shelling by Sixth Fleet ships of anti-aircraft positions ashore, the Reagan administration has decided to hold off on making further moves in Lebanon and concentrate instead on the Palestinian issue.

According to yesterday's Washington Post, this decision is the principal outcome of a series of White House conferences last week. It was decided to delay the planned trip of special Middle East envoy Donald Rumsfeld to the region.

Instead, the paper writes, the focus of U.S. activity will shift from the Lebanese crisis to the Palestinian aspect of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

It was also decided not to send to

Congress a supplementary request for some \$250-\$300 million in military aid to Lebanon, at least for the time being. It is considered doubtful that Congress would pass such a request, even if it were submitted, following the recent collapse of the Lebanese Army and the loss of much recently supplied American weapons to the militias.

Despite attempts by administration officials to explain the failure of U.S. policy in Lebanon, commentators here almost unanimously assess the U.S. military and political involvement there as a defeat comparable to those of former president Jimmy Carter.

The U.S. news media have singled out Secretary of State George Shultz as the main advocate of the abortive U.S. role in Lebanon and have called for his replacement. Administration officials have denied that Shultz intends to resign.

Charges fly as cabinet discusses Levy media 'leaks'

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Charges and counter-charges flew between Deputy Premier David Levy and his cabinet colleagues yesterday concerning the press coverage given to Levy's views on IDF policy in Lebanon.

Israel Radio broadcast several times during the day that cabinet ministers criticized Levy at the start of yesterday's session for allegedly publishing the views he had expressed at last week's cabinet session.

Last night Levy told reporters that certain "anonymous cabinet ministers were fabricating scurrilous gossip" about him. Levy said the ministers who accused him of "tendentious leaks" were themselves tendentious leakers.

Levy said: "I have only pity for

people who leak my opinions to the media and I doubt whether they have any opinions of their own to start with."

Cabinet tension dates back to last autumn's competition between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Levy when Herut chose a successor to former premier Menachem Begin. The atmosphere has deteriorated further as Levy has constantly repeated his warnings that the government's belt-tightening economics is not only causing suffering among low-income families but also souring many potential potential Likud voters.

Relations have apparently reached a low point because Levy does not accept the wait-and-see attitude of Defence Minister Moshe

Arens with regard to the IDF presence in Lebanon.

Levy apparently argues in every possible forum that Israel has achieved as much as it can in Lebanon and that its further military presence there has long been counter-productive.

One minister told *The Jerusalem Post* that Shamir spoke angrily about cabinet leaks at yesterday's cabinet session. While he did not mention Levy by name, *The Post* was told, everyone including Levy took Shamir's purported remarks as referring to the deputy premier.

Shamir reportedly said that Israeli interests had been harmed by the leaking of tendentious and distorted material from proceedings of the Ministerial Defence Committee. Ministers had done a dangerous

thing, Shamir said, in talking to the media.

Levy said that surely it must have occurred to somebody to entertain the possibility that people might be leaking material about his stand, merely in order to embarrass him.

Arens said that he "often wondered whether he should give the cabinet detailed briefings because of the risk of vital material being leaked."

The Post was told that Interior Minister Yosef Burg and Health Minister Eliezer Shostak echoed Shamir's complaints.

While it is hard to establish just what took place at yesterday's cabinet, Levy's only ally in the call to pull the IDF out faster seems to have been Social Affairs Minister Aharon Uzzan.

Air raids bolster heavy ground action in Gulf

NICOSIA (AP). — Iraqi warplanes bombed two cities deep inside Iran yesterday, killing a total of 67 persons and wounding more than 230 others, as fierce ground fighting continued near the strategic Basra-Amara highway, the official Iranian news agency Irna reported.

The agency also said heavy artillery exchanges persisted in the past 24 hours around the four-day-old 100km. "Kheibar" front north of Basra, from Piranshahr, the northern-most points of the Iran-Iraq battlefield, to Abadan in the extreme south.

Irna said a formation of three Iraqi jets bombed the town of Islamabad-Gharb in the western border province of Bakhtaran in the morning, killing 60 persons, wounding more than 150 others and destroying 70 houses and shops.

Simultaneously, other Iraqi jets bombed the village of Kuddashi in Lurestan province deep inside Iran, killing 7 persons and wounding more than 80 others.

A war communiqué carried by the agency said during other Iraqi air raids in the "Kheibar" sector of the front, Iranian jets and anti-

aircraft guns shot down one of the raiding Iraqi jets.

A communiqué broadcast by Baghdad radio and monitored here confirmed that formations of Iraqi jets attacked in three waves in various front areas and deep inside Iran, "hitting and devastating important military installations of the enemy."

In London, the weekly *Observer* said that Iran is poised to throw 300,000 troops into its invasion of Iraq to cut off the road to Baghdad and deliver a knock-out blow in the prolonged Gulf War.

Western military experts who previously thought neither Iran nor Iraq capable of forcing a decision in the war "are becoming a little less sanguine in the light of substantial Iranian gains," wrote Ian Mather, defence correspondent.

Iran has captured two large areas around the Iraqi towns of Omran and Sulaymaniyah in Kurdistan, in the northern sector of the 400km. border, the paper said.

Farther south, where the Iranian build-up is taking place, Iran also appears to have gained a slice of territory 5 to 6km. wide, it said.

Supersol starting 'dollarization' scheme

By MARTHA MEISELS
Post Consumer Affairs Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Supersol chain yesterday announced its own "dollarization" scheme. As of Thursday, customers will be able to purchase green Supersol coupons which will hold their dollar value irrespective of the inflation rate.

Each "Super-Tav" coupon will bear the numeral "5" and will entitle the holder to five dollars' worth of merchandise at any Supersol store.

Customers will be able to purchase the Supersol "green-backs" in shekels, according to the Bank of Israel's representative exchange rate for that day. The minimum purchase will be \$50 worth of coupons at a time.

The "Super-Tav" coupons are guaranteed until June 30 of this year, again according to the prevailing dollar-shekel representative rate.

There will be no transaction fee nor loss of differential between the

dollar's buying and selling rate. Announcing the scheme yesterday, Supersol president David Weinshall said the scheme was developed after the chain noticed that customers were buying mainly around the 1st or 15th of each month, in order to preserve the value of their salaries or make the most of their credit card charges.

With the new dollar-shaped green coupons, customers can shop when they please and retain the real value of their earnings, Weinshall said.

Supersol took pains to stress that it was neither engaging in printing currency nor running an alternative dollar-linked savings scheme.

The Super-Tavs will not be redeemable for cash, only for merchandise at Supersol or its affiliate Hyperkol or Kol-Sal stores.

Coupons not used by June 30 will be frozen at their shekel-to-dollar equivalent on that date, and the company will decide then whether to renew the scheme.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	1 34 3 37	Cloudy	
BRUSSELS	1 33 5 41	Cloudy	
BREITENBURG	19 68 30 88	Rain	
CHICAGO	-5 24 8 43	Snow	
COPENHAGEN	0 32 1 34	Cloudy	
FRANKFURT	-1 30 2 36	Snow	
GENEVA	-1 30 3 37	Cloudy	
HELSINKI	Unavail.		
HONG KONG	15 89 19 86	Cloudy	
JURASSK-SBURG	16 51 25 77	Clear	
LISBON	3 37 12 24	Clear	
LONDON	1 34 4 38	Cloudy	
MADRID	1 34 6 43	Clear	
MONTREAL	2 28 1 34	Snow	
NEW YORK	6 42 10 50	Cloudy	
OSLO	-4 25 3 27	Cloudy	
PARIS	0 32 5 36	Cloudy	
RHODE JANKRU	21 70 40 104	Clear	
SAU PAULI	20 66 31 68	Clear	
STOCKHOLM	-2 28 1 30	Snow	
TORUN	-1 30 2 36	Snow	
TORONTO	-4 25 1 34	Cloudy	
VIENNA	-1 30 3 37	Cloudy	
ZURICH	-2 26 3 37	Cloudy	

For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to fair.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	24	10-17	13
Golan	24	8-16	15
Nahariya	40	7-16	15
Haifa Port	64	8-18	17
Tiberias	69	8-21	20
Nazareth	44	9-18	17
Afula	46	5-20	19
Shomron	31	8-17	16
Tel Aviv	56	8-19	18
B-G Airport	45	5-20	20
Jericho	36	11-26	23
Gaza	66	9-18	18
Beersheba	38	5-20	19
Eilat	19	13-25	24

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Knesset Speaker and Mrs. Menahem Savidor last night gave a dinner in honour of a Spanish agricultural delegation headed by Juan Colino Salamanca at the conclusion of the delegation's visit to Israel. Knesset members from various parties attended.

The annual convention of the Skai Clubs of Israel was held at the Mandarin Hotel, Tel Aviv, over the weekend under the patronage of Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir and Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat. Uzi Yalon was elected national president.

Orgad leaves for U.S.

Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad yesterday left for the U.S. and will meet for the first time with Secretary of State George Shultz and senior administration and congressional economic figures.

Cohen-Orgad told a press conference at Ben-Gurion Airport that his visit is the result of an invitation by Shultz, extended as soon as he took office four months ago. He could not go until now, the minister said, because he had to prepare the budget.

Cohen-Orgad said his talks in Washington would deal only with economic issues. No new ideas would be discussed and Israel would not ask for additional U.S. aid, said the minister. (Itim)

Allon memorial meeting

HAIFA. — If the country's leadership had adopted the doctrine of Yigal Allon, Israel would not have gone to war in Lebanon, former premier Yitzhak Rabin said here last night.

Speaking to the local Labour Party branch at a memorial meeting for Allon on the fourth anniversary of his death, Rabin said Allon's ideology proscribed the use of force as a means of imposing peace. Peace cannot be imposed but must be achieved, he said.

Allon's widow and members of the family were present.

JULIUS (Yehuda) STERN

of Nidda (Ober Hessen) and New York passed away on Friday, February 24, 1984.

Funeral in New York, Sunday, February 26.

Deeply mourned by his children
Irene and Martin Wolins

Shiva at 1 Turo Street, Yemin Moshe, Jerusalem

BENJAMIN SHENKMAN

The funeral will take place at 4 p.m. today, February 27, 1984 at the Eretz Hachaim cemetery, Mitgash Shimshon.

The funeral entourage will leave Yad Meir in Jerusalem at 3 p.m.

The Family

ROBERT (Bob) BLITZSTEIN

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HOME NEWS

Histadrut leaders call for Meshel's ouster

Jerusalem Post Staff and Itim

TEL AVIV. — Several members of the Histadrut Central Committee yesterday joined a growing demand in the labour establishment that Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel step down and allow his deputy, Yisrael Kessar, to take over.

The members also demanded an inquiry into the way the Histadrut handled the investigation into the activities of Bank Hapoalim's former boss Ya'acov Levinson, who committed suicide last Thursday.

Meshel, who is still in Rumania, has not reacted to the charges. He is due back today.

The committee members who want to see Meshel go include Na'ama Secretary-General Masha Lubelsky and Nahum Fassa. The demand for Meshel's resignation was not unanimous, and Kessar himself did not associate himself with it.

Members contacted yesterday insisted they were not demanding Meshel's "ouster." They said they were just insisting that he honour an agreement reportedly concluded with Kessar to step down in a month or two.

"I feel Meshel himself will understand he has to go," committee member Alisa Tamir said last night.

Kessar made it clear yesterday he did not want to use the Levinson affair to advance the date of Meshel's departure. He said one must not take advantage of a tragic event "to make gains or try to settle political, party or Histadrut accounts."

None of the members contacted yesterday said Levinson had been right in charging a frame up.

Fassa and others, nevertheless, insisted on an independent inquiry into the Histadrut's handling of the affair.

Tamir said she did not believe there was a frame up. But the connection between the affair and Meshel's attempts to become chairman of Bank Hapoalim's board of directors should be

checked, she said.

Meanwhile, several members sharply rejected demands raised at Labour Party headquarters to increase party supervision over the Histadrut.

Kessar stressed "the Histadrut is an independent body, elected by its members in secret ballot. We are the party's delegates but we have full rights to maintain the Histadrut's independence."

A routine meeting of the board of directors of Bank Hapoalim, scheduled some time ago for yesterday morning, was postponed until Thursday (following the seven days of mourning for Levinson).

Bank circles thought yesterday that Thursday's meeting would no longer be "routine," but would discuss various effects of Levinson's suicide, and the possible implications for the bank.

Banking circles in Tel Aviv believed yesterday that the affair would have no effect on the bank's activities, either locally or overseas. They pointed out that even if the charges against Levinson were true, the deceased had not directed the affairs of the bank itself for the past few years. At any rate, no effect has been felt so far either within Israel or abroad.

Hevrat Ha'ovdim secretary Danny Rosolio said last night that Bank Hapoalim board chairman Giora Gazit behaved correctly in the Levinson affair.

Speaking on Israel Television, Rosolio said Gazit did not raise any unfair allegations in connection with Levinson.

Meanwhile yesterday, in what was seen as a reference to the Levinson affair, President Chaim Herzog said that if sometimes we have impinged so far on the rights of the individual as to convict him before he was proved guilty then we have forsaken the most important value, that of the right of the individual. Herzog was speaking at a ceremony awarding prizes to educational institutions and educators.

U.S. rapped for indirect talks with PLO 2 years ago

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel has expressed dissatisfaction to the U.S. about Washington's indirect contacts with the PLO two years ago.

Briefing reporters after yesterday's cabinet session, cabinet secretary Dan Meridor called such steps "obstacles" to the peace process and said the Israel Embassy had informed the Reagan administration of Jerusalem's objections to any contacts with the PLO.

It was Israel's first official reaction to a report confirmed last Wednesday by Secretary of State

George Shultz that an unofficial U.S. representative had met more than 50 times with representatives of the PLO, including its leader Yasser Arafat.

Meridor said Israel "believed and assumed that the U.S. will not hold negotiations with the PLO" unless it accepts conditions set in 1975 by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger.

The conditions are that the PLO acknowledge Israel and accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338. Meridor reaffirmed Israel's long-standing policy that it will "never deal with the PLO under any conditions."

6 arrested in drug dealer's death

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Four men and two women were arrested on Saturday night on suspicion of involvement in the murder of 27-year-old Nahum Tamar in broad daylight Saturday.

Tamar, a Holon resident, was stabbed to death on the Hatikva Quarter's main street, Rehov Eizel, Saturday afternoon. He was on his way to visit his parents who live in the neighbourhood.

Although the street was full of people at the time, nobody was come forward with details of the killing.

One of those arrested was a 34-year-old friend of the suspect. Police believe Tamar was murdered because of debts he owed from drug dealing. He was known to police as a drug dealer.

PURE AIR — An English firm has signed a knowhow agreement with Amcor for the production of ionization appliances (to purify air).

Another playoff for Maccabi Tel Aviv

Maccabi Haifa sprang another unpleasant surprise on Maccabi Tel Aviv last night, defeating them 72-70 in the National Basketball League playoffs in the Romema hall in Haifa. The two teams will now have to play a third match to decide who will get the last remaining semifinal spot.

The other two favoured contenders for the title, Hapoel Ramat Gan and Hapoel Tel Aviv, won last night. Ramat Gan defeated Hapoel Holon 86-80, while Hapoel Tel Aviv demolished Hapoel Upper Galilee 93-81. Hapoel Haifa have already qualified.



Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir toasts his Zairan counterpart, Njoli Balaga, on the latter's arrival at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday.

(Ya'akov Katz)

Boost seen for Israel-Zaire tourism

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — "Many Zairans dream of coming to Israel and I hope they will realize this dream, as I have today," Zaire Tourism Minister Njoli Balaga said yesterday upon his arrival at Ben-Gurion Airport for a week-long visit.

Balaga told Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir that he was confi-

dent that the friendship uniting Zaire and Israel for so long would deepen with tourism. Asked how many Zairans are expected to visit Israel, Balaga said such estimates are best left to professionals.

Balaga is due to meet President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and leading travel agents to discuss bilateral tourism.

Mapam picks Shemtov again

By SARAH HONIG

Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Mapam secretary-general Victor Shemtov was re-elected to the post by the party's Central Committee yesterday by a large majority.

Shemtov defeated former MK Chaika Grossman by 278 votes to 141, with only two-thirds of the committee members voting.

Until a few days ago Grossman was the sole candidate, as Shemtov had declared that he would not run again. He had been secretary-general for four years and announced his resignation some six months ago, when the party convention rejected his plan for the termination of the Alignment agreement with the Labour Party.

But last week Shemtov surprised the members of his left-wing party when he announced that he would stand for another term after all.

Grossman won a consolation prize. She was unanimously elected political secretary, replacing Gad Yatviv.

Both Shemtov and Grossman are considered anti-Alignment in sentiment, with Grossman possibly even more radical than Shemtov. However, after his re-election yesterday, Shemtov made it clear that, in line with the last party convention's decision, no more moves would be made to break up the Alignment and Mapam would run with Labour in the next elections.

Shemtov explained that he had reconsidered his earlier decision not to run "for the good of the party."

ARAFAT-HUSSEIN

(Continued from Page One)

of-state welcome upon his arrival at the Marka Air Base in the suburbs of the Jordanian capital. Obaidat, Foreign Minister Taher, Masri, Interior Minister Sulaiman, Arar and other leading Jordanian officials greeted the 53-year-old leader.

Arafat came to discuss a joint plan which, with other moderate Arab governments' blessing, would aim at recovering Arab lands under Israeli administration.

Hussein tried during six months of discussions to win a mandate from the Palestinians to speak on their behalf in talks with Israel on American and Arab Middle East peace plans.

The plan adopted at an Arab League summit in Morocco in September 1982 and backed by the PLO calls for an independent Palestinian state in the territories.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan called the same month for Palestinian autonomy in association with Jordan in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The king has put part of the blame for the collapse of the talks on Reagan, for not putting enough pressure on Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanon and halt the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

Political sources said they do not expect any immediate commitments by Arafat, who has yet fully to overcome opposition to his leadership of the PLO and establish its biggest terrorist group.

In Cairo, Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali, in a prepared foreign policy statement to the People's Assembly (parliament), said yesterday Arafat's visit represents a victory for the moderate trend in the PLO. He called on the international community to encourage this trend.

(Reuter, AP)

Terror group jailed

Ramallah military court yesterday sentenced nine youths from the Jelazun refugee camp found guilty of belonging to a terror group.

The group, which called itself the Palestinian Syrian Organization, aimed to damage IDF and civilian vehicles by throwing petrol bombs and stones at them, the court heard. The members also intended to steal weapons from the military vehicles they attacked.

One was sentenced to four years in jail, another to three years and the others to terms between 70 days and two and a half years. Additional conditional sentences were also imposed. (Itim)

Irregularities in Tel Aviv building project probed

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The attorney-general is investigating charges of irregularities in the conduct of the police, Tel Aviv Municipality and the regional urban construction commission in the case of alleged illegal building on Tel Aviv's Rehov Yellin, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

In 1982, an engineer residing at 6 Yellin built an entire floor of offices on the building's ground floor, originally intended for parking and storage space for apartment owners.

Residents in the building, located on a residential street, had signed contracts when buying their apartments, specifying that no part of the building would be used for offices.

Despite this, and the city's policy not to allow offices in residential areas, the engineer obtained the local construction committee's approval for non-specified use, the term used for turning the ground floor into offices. The fact that the engineer would have to close the residents' parking space to build the offices, for which a building permit was needed, was not mentioned in his request for the approval. Nor did the construction committee mention this in applying

for the regional commission's approval.

When the residents complained that their permission had not been obtained to build the offices, as required in such cases, the municipal authorities referred them to the police.

Legal charges that had been presented by the city against the engineer last year for illegal building were cancelled in December. The charge sheet had asked the court to issue a demolition order for the structure erected without a permit.

The residents asked Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir to appoint an independent committee to investigate why the engineer received help from several municipal departments.

"There are suspicions of improper administration, corruption and at the expense of dozens of residents," the apartment owners' representative attorney Yehiel Garbush told *The Post* yesterday.

The attorney-general has appointed attorney Shlomo Dorner of the Justice Ministry to conduct the investigation.

U.S. WARSHIPS

(Continued from Page One)

pected back in Beirut from Damascus yesterday with new plans for an effective cease-fire to be followed by moves towards a peace settlement.

But the diplomatic efforts appeared to have lost some of the momentum they had built up recently.

Muslim sources said Lebanon's Christian President, Amin Jemayel, had agreed with the Syrian government on the outlines of a settlement including a key concession, scrapping last May's treaty with Israel.

But Western diplomats said they saw hard bargaining ahead between the president and his opponents.

State-run Syrian radio yesterday accused Jemayel of stalling for time. "The Lebanese government does not want to change its policy. It just

wants to mark time to go ahead with its policy of deceit and treachery," the radio said.

Some rightist Christians, normally supporters of Jemayel, have been warning him against making concessions. But the powerful Phalangist Party, founded and run by Jemayel's father, said yesterday it would support whatever course the president took.

Shi'ite Moslem leader Nabih Berri, one of Jemayel's leading opponents warned yesterday that Israel would not be able to guarantee the security of the northern Galilee area against terrorist attacks if it kept troops in the South.

The Lebanese national news agency quoted him as telling a Shi'ite meeting: "We proclaim that if Israel insists on remaining in the South, the security of the Galilee will not be ensured after this day."

CABINET DEFERRING

(Continued from Page One)

yet given up a last vestige of hope that President Amin Jemayel may still withstand Syrian pressure and refuse to abrogate the Lebanon-Israel agreement of last May. They believe that Israel, at any rate, ought not to further weaken Jemayel's position by announcing that it will withdraw its troops to a more southerly line.

The U.S., despite its own withdrawal from Beirut, is still anxious that the IDF not pull back from its present line along the Awali River.

A "redeployment" decision, it is thought here, would stiffen Syrian intransigence. Damascus' conclusion from the IDF's partial pullback in September was that Israel was gradually losing its staying power.

Staying put on the Awali for the time being will mean, according to a senior official, that the periodic armoured patrols north of the river will continue. The official noted yesterday that the area north of the Awali (and south of Beirut) was relatively free of PLO presence. This showed, he said, that the patrols policy was effective.

Two killed, 4 injured in road accidents

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Two persons were killed and four injured yesterday in two road accidents in the coastal region.

The driver of a car was killed and four bus passengers were injured when the vehicles collided yesterday evening near the entrance to Shafir, a moshav near Ashkelon. No details were available on the injured.

Early yesterday morning, Victoria

Meni, 65, died in a hospital shortly after being struck by a car as she was crossing Rehov Cohen in Ramat Gan. She was hit while walking on a pedestrian crossing. The driver of the car was arrested.

ADOPTION. — The Seixer Corporation has "adopted" the electronic workshop for vocational rehabilitation at the Levinstein Hospital in Ra'anana.

UNITED ISRAELI APPEAL-KEREN HAYESOD
mourns the untimely passing of

ELIE J. TAMMAN ז"ל

and expresses its sincere condolences to
the Tamman and Gaon families

Dr. Avraham Avi-hai
World Chairman

We extend our deepest condolences to
Mr. Gabriel Tamman of Geneva
on the passing of his brother

ELIE J. TAMMAN ז"ל

and extend our sincerest condolences to the
Tamman, Gaon and Hirsh families.

Mr. and Mrs. Moshe Goral

The Department for Sephardi and Oriental Communities
in the World Zionist Organization
mourns the death of

ELIE J. TAMMAN

and offers condolences to
the Tamman and Gaon Families

David Avayou
Head of the Department

In deep sorrow we announce the passing in London of our dear

ELIE J. TAMMAN ז"ל

The funeral took place on Friday, February 24, 1984 in Haifa

The bereaved family
His wife — Emilie
His sons — Joseph, Roger and Daniel
His father — Joseph
Brothers and Sisters —

Albert Tamman
Leon J. Tamman
Renée Gaon
Gabriel Tamman
Zaki Tamman
Lili Hirsh

THE SHIVA IS BEING HELD AT THE TAMMAN RESIDENCE,
15 HOF SHENHAV STREET, DENIA, MOUNT CARMEL, HAIFA.

Our heartfelt condolences to the
Levinson family
on the untimely and tragic loss
of our good friend
YA'ACOV

Victor and Adrea Carter

Civil servant charged with harmful criticism of gov't

A self-styled radical leftist, who is head of the foreign desk at the Government Information Centre, Jerusalem, has recently been charged at a civil service disciplinary court with criticizing government policy in an insulting and harmful manner.

The file against Gideon Spiro, 48, includes nine charges of having sent letters to newspapers and to the attorney-general which "insulted and harmed the government, its ministries and policies," contrary to civil service regulations.

Civil service veterans do not recall any similar case in the past. If found guilty of the charges, the sanctions that could be imposed on Spiro range from a warning to dismissal.

Among the letters which the civil service has found objectionable is one written by Spiro to Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir which was published in *Ma'ariv* on October 1, 1982. In it Spiro asked Zamir to prosecute then defence minister Ariel Sharon and then chief of staff Rafael Eitan "as accomplices to murder" for their part in the Sabra

and Shatila refugee camps massacres.

In a letter to Chief of Staff Moshe Levy, which appeared in *Kol Yerushalayim* on June 3, 1983, he described the IDF as an army of conquest active in withholding human rights from more than a million Palestinians. Claiming to have served in the paratroops with Levy in the Sinai campaign, Spiro attacked the chief of staff for being party to "crimes against humanity perpetrated by the IDF in Lebanon."

Spiro, who as a member of the Committee for Bir Zeit University, recently met with PLO representatives at a UN conference in Geneva, has rejected the charges. He says civil servants do not have to agree with the policy of the government and like any other citizen are allowed to criticize it.

Spiro says that in recent years his superiors have prevented him from doing any work in the centre and all that is left for him to do at the office is to read the newspapers and to draw his salary. (Iim)

Special course returned six PoWs to normal life

Post Defence Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Psychologists who treated six Nahal soldiers held by the Fatah had to devise games and use intensive training to break their excessive cohesiveness, *Bamahane Nahal* magazine reported. The six were released last November in exchange for some 4,500 terrorists held by Israel.

The magazine said that several days after their return to Israel the six — Rafi Hazan, Danny Gilboa, Reuven Cohen, Eli Abutbol, Avi Kronenfeld and Avi Moshinsky — were put through a special two-week course to "return to themselves." The course was held at the Wingate Institute near Netanya. This commander said in the interview that one of the programme's major goals was to get the men back to normal life after being inactive and cut off from the outside world for a year. The reception in Israel had shocked them, he added.

"One of our problems was that they acted like a group," the commander said. At first, when offered something individually, "all six asked for the same thing."

Under the psychologists' guidance, the six underwent intensive sports training, playing games against one another. They also got reacquainted with army discipline, including early rising, morning parades and drills.

In the evenings they attended social activities and assembled for a final parade before going to sleep. "The programme was murderous in their eyes," the commander reported. However, he said, they managed to get back into line much faster than originally anticipated.

Three of the six — Hazan, Gilboa and Cohen — have since been discharged from the army. The others — Abutbol, Kronenfeld and Moshinsky — are continuing their military service.

Rakah's 'Il-Itihad' admits difficulties

By YOEL DAR
Special to The Jerusalem Post
NAZARETH. — *Il-Itihad*, the mouthpiece of Rakah, the New Communist Party, has run into difficulties. The Haifa-based daily admitted yesterday that its efforts to pick up 6,000 subscribers among Rakah members and Israeli Arabs have failed, but no explanations have been given.

Il-Itihad management and editors organized festive events in Arab vil-

lages recently to increase the newspaper's circulation and started a fund-raising campaign among Rakah sympathizers.

Last year a Cyprus-based group known as the Palestinian Writer's Association, which maintains close relations with the PLO, is believed to have contributed \$30,000 to enable *Il-Itihad* to become a daily instead of the twice-weekly format in which it had appeared for over 40 years. *Il-Itihad* started appearing as a daily last June.

The lack of reader enthusiasm has been attributed to the paper's lack of news items about Israeli Arabs but abundance of articles critical of the government and its policy.

The newspaper has been adopting a political line backing PLO chairman Yasser Arafat. Last year, for example, the newspaper gave only limited space to the bloody clashes in Tripoli between Arafat's followers and Syrian-backed dis-



Kupat Holim Clalit, the Histadrut's health insurance fund, has recently issued cards for diabetic patients. The card says (in Hebrew and Arabic): "I have diabetes. If I appear confused, please give me a sweetened drink, or sugar or chocolate. If I am unconscious, please get me to hospital immediately." (IPPA)

Shamir asked to support Yinon for broadcasting post

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Education and Culture Minister Ze'evulun Hammer yesterday asked Premier Yitzhak Shamir to support the candidacy of Micha Yinon as chairman of the board of the Broadcasting Authority. The two met to discuss appointments to the positions of authority chairman and director-general, which fall vacant on April 1.

Yinon, 43, director of the Israel Bar Association, is a National Religious Party representative on the authority's board and is currently deputy chairman.

The present chairman, Reuven Yaron, cannot according to the Broadcasting Law serve a third three-year term, although director-general Yosef Lapid, who has been in office for one five-year term, may serve one more. Supporters of

Lapid have met with both Hammer and Shamir in recent weeks to lobby for his reappointment.

Beit Zion Dell, Hammer's adviser on Broadcasting Authority affairs, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the minister is most concerned with who will serve as chairman, which has been until now largely a ceremonial post. Dell maintained that according to the Broadcasting Law, the chairman may be much more powerful than he has been in practice, and that Yinon — if backed by Shamir and approved by the cabinet — would have more power as chairman than his predecessors.

Lapid has been strongly opposed for renomination by Likud MK Ronnie Milo and supported by Likud MK Ehud Olmert. TV and radio journalists, who have had endless run-ins with Lapid about his setting of strict limits on news coverage regarding PLO supporters and the territories, are divided on the issue.

Among those whose names are being mentioned for the director-generalship are public relations man Natan Brun, lawyer Reuven Rivlin, former spokesman of the premier Uri Porat, all of Herut, and former justice minister Shmuel Tamir, formerly a member of that party.

35 reservists join anti-Lebanon protest

Jerusalem Post Reporter
About 35 reserve soldiers joined nearly 1,000 members of kibbutzim from the Beit She'an area in demonstrating outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday against Israel's involvement in Lebanon.

The soldiers, paratroopers who have been together since 1965, said their protest was "apolitical" and that all they wanted was the government to establish a policy that "makes some sense."

"We spend our days and nights chasing after disappearing figures, afraid of Shi'ites armed with guns that Arik Sharon gave them," said one of the reservists, a Jerusalem lawyer.

Another said the stay in Lebanon is not only harming the army's training, it is also "harming the morale of its soldiers."

The demonstrators' spokesman said that they organized "spontaneously, on the last night we were there."

Beit She'an town hall facing a blackout

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — Power supplies to Beit She'an's town hall will be cut on Wednesday unless the municipality pays outstanding debts totalling IS6 million, the Electric Corporation spokesman said yesterday.

Beit She'an Mayor, Shlomo Ben-Loulou told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the electricity debt was not the only financial problem facing the municipality.

The municipality's total deficit stands at IS250m. and appeals have been made to the Interior Ministry for assistance, he said.

AIR VALVES. — An order for \$40,000 worth of air valves has been received by Kibbutz Kfar Harob, in the Golan Heights, from South Africa.

Hammer favours doubled, deferred tuition

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer said yesterday that he supports the proposal by the Council for Higher Education to double university tuition fees. But he said he would let many students defer payments until after they finish their studies.

Hammer was quoted by Israel Radio as saying that he opposes the Treasury's intention unilaterally to raise tuition fees next year. The current system for setting tuition was adopted two years ago by a committee headed by Deputy Housing Minister Moshe Katsav, and was accepted for a five-year period by all parties concerned, including the students and the Treasury.

The council's proposal calls for

raising tuition to about \$1,200 a year, in keeping with the Treasury's policy of reducing education subsidies.

The proposal stipulates that any student under age 30 would be eligible for a linked, interest-free loan equal to half of tuition fees, to be paid back in instalments after graduation. The obligation to repay the loan would be waived for any student who moves to a disadvantaged neighbourhood or a development town after his studies. The details of the proposal are still to be negotiated.

Students taking part in the Perah programme for tutoring disadvantaged pupils would receive a scholarship equal to half of tuition costs.

The head of the council's plan-

ing and grants committee, Prof. Haim Harari, noted that students who take part in Perah and move to a development town or disadvantaged area would end up paying no tuition at all.

The proposal would maintain the existing system of loans and scholarships for needy or outstanding students.

The council noted that most students are relatively well-off. Only 10,000 out of the 70,000 university students registered this year have joined Perah, and only a few thousand applied for loans.

The Treasury proposal for raising tuition and increasing scholarships and loans, which is not as liberal as the package proposed by the council, was turned down about 10 days ago by student representatives.

Hotels, guest houses given deadline on fire safety

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hotels and kibbutz guest houses have been given three weeks in which to bring their fire safety equipment and emergency procedures up to standard, the Interior Ministry announced yesterday.

The warning has been issued as a reaction to the February 5 fire at the Moriah Hotel on the Dead Sea front, in which two persons were killed and seven injured.

In a circular to all district fire chiefs, national fire department director Rami Kahalon wrote: "In view of the tragic conflagration at the Moriah Hotel you are to make immediate fire inspections at all 246 hotels and guest houses within your respective areas of responsibility."

"Attention should be paid not only to preventive measures taken by these facilities but also to provi-

sions for escape procedures in event of a real emergency. You are also to ascertain whether the staff of each and every hotel or guest house has been trained in emergency plans."

The district fire chiefs were also directed to organize fire drills where they deem them needed, and to instruct hotel employees in the correct use of fire extinguishers and fire hoses.

The circular adds: "You are to give managements of guest accommodation establishments a maximum of three weeks in which to correct fire safety faults. Failure to do so within that period requires that you report to me immediately so that legal action can be initiated as soon as possible. The safety inspection campaign is to be completed by March 10."

A preliminary finding by the Interior Ministry suggests that the Moriah Hotel fire was due to malicious arson.

Nablus university shut until further notice

NABLUS (Iim). — An-Najah University remains closed this week following its shutdown by the school administration on February 19 after a brawl broke out between groups of communist and Islamic fundamentalist students in which three were slightly injured. On Thursday the administration announced that the university will stay closed until further notice.

An-Najah was closed during January by its administration after student protests against the requirement of the Israeli Civil Administration that foreign lecturers require work permits. The students boycotted foreign lecturers who complied with the administration's order that they obtain the permits.

At Bir Zeit University, the school's old campus was closed two weeks ago by the military governor after student disturbances on and off the campus. The students at the new campus are striking to protest against the entrance requirements.

Hebron University opened yesterday after a one-month strike. However, the university is not completely functioning.

PRESSURE. — A special campaign to raise public awareness to the dangers of high blood pressure is taking place until tomorrow at Beit Sharek and Beit Mandelblat in Givatayim, where free checkups and lectures are being offered.

Sharir, Meridor clash over economic parley

Post Economic Reporter

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is to consult with the economic ministers before deciding whether tourism-related issues should be included in the coming international economic conference. The conference is due to take place in May with the participation of 120 corporations.

Shamir's intervention was necessitated by a sharp confrontation between Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir and Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor at yesterday's cabinet meeting. While Sharir demanded the inclusion of tourism topics in the agenda, Meridor said that only technological affairs would be included.

Sharir said that tourism-related issues may help the conference succeed, since Israel has unique advantages in this area.

Deaf groups to hold fund-raising campaign

TEL AVIV. — Three organizations for the deaf are to hold a combined fund-raising campaign today, aiming to raise at least IS20 million to provide hearing aids and other services for hearing impaired individuals of all ages.

At a press conference yesterday, Moshe Shemtov, chairman of the Association of the Deaf, said the Maccabee health fund has agreed to pay 25 per cent of the cost of hearing aids for its members. "That is not enough, but it is more than other sick funds pay," he said. He urged the government and the Knesset to learn more of the problems of the deaf and to do more to help.

The other two organizations taking part are Shema, which serves school-aged hearing-impaired children, and Micha which deals with the pre-school age group.

PRESSURE ON PERES

(Continued from Page One)
the most consistent advocates of former president Yitzhak Navon's candidacy, the group as a whole cannot be labelled pro-Navon.

There are some Yitzhak Rabin supporters and others who have been known to support Peres, and who have not thus far retreated publicly from their support for him.

But party insiders have noticed one potentially very dangerous combination for Peres. Navon supporters have long believed that their strategy should be to mobilize to their cause supporters from the thud and from the moshav movement. With such a combination against him, Peres would have difficulty maintaining his position.

Thus, the fact that the Ihud's MK Avraham Katz-Oz and the moshav movement leaders, MKs Arye Nehamkin and Yehzekel Zakai have joined the anti-Meshel group is seen as an inauspicious omen for Peres. It is further noted that the pro-

Navon forces in Labour have often called not only for Peres' ouster but also for Meshel's. What is happening in Labour now is seen by many of the party pundits to be the playing out of that scenario.

These pundits recalled a similar kibbutz-moshav line up which led to Haim Bar-Lev's replacement by Rabin as the Alignment's candidate for defence minister just a few days before the 1981 Knesset elections.

Peres bowed to the joint pressure then and it may be that this time too he will have to give in, say some party sources. He may not wish to endanger his own position by protecting Meshel.

If Peres cannot somehow save Meshel, the Histadrut secretary might well be replaced, possibly as soon as April.

However, Meshel and his supporters have not spoken yet. Meshel is due back from Rumania today and his supporters are keeping a low profile.

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WORLD NEWS

Genscher clamps news ban on Stoph family asylum bid

BONN (AP). — West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher yesterday clamped a news ban on the fate of five relatives of East German Prime Minister Willi Stoph, who sought refuge inside Bonn's embassy in Czechoslovakia on Friday.

"The solution of humanitarian problems asks for care and discretion and not for publicity," Genscher said in defence of his news blackout about the niece of Willi Stoph, No. 2 in the Communist East German leadership, who with her family have been holed up in West Germany's Prague embassy since Friday.

The Stoph relatives were identified by the Hamburg-based newspaper, *Welt am Sonntag*, as his niece, Ingrid Berg, her husband, Hans-Dietrich Berg, their seven-year-old son, Jens, three-year-old daughter, Simone, and Berg's mother, Olga Berg. No ages were given for the adults.

The newspaper said three other East Germans demanding asylum also were inside the Prague mission. They were not identified.

Stoph is second in the East German hierarchy, behind President Erich Honecker. A spokesman for the German Affairs Ministry said the Bonn government had retained lawyers in an attempt to obtain the Berg family's release.

He quoted Heinrich Windelen, chief of the Bonn-based German Affairs Ministry, as saying: "This is a difficult situation... the decision doesn't lie with us. The case is naturally tougher than those we've had to deal with until now." This was an obvious reference to an incident on January 20, when six East Germans seeking asylum were given safe passage to West Germany after refusing for two days to leave the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin.

The West German media also has carried unconfirmed reports that 12 East Germans sought refuge inside the West German legation in East Berlin a few days later and also were given safe passage to the West. The official East German news agency, ADN, reported neither incident. It also did not mention the Berg family in Prague.

Having a maid is necessary, China's Communists now say

PEKING (AP). — China's ruling Communists, who once denounced the practice of hiring maids and servants, now proclaim such household help is necessary and reflects people's prosperity.

Recent articles in the state-run press extolling the value of hired help would have been blasphemous during the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution when the Communist Party leftists who then ran China exhorted people to fight for absolute equality.

"Although the employment of maids was criticized as 'gentrified and bourgeois' or 'exploitative' during the 'Cultural Revolution,' in reality such employment cannot be abolished," said an article in Saturday's *Economic Daily*.

The article said more than 30,000

people now work as maids in Peking, triple the number in 1966.

Earlier this month, the official newspaper *China Daily* announced the formation of the Household Service Company in Peking, run by the local women's association. The paper said the company immediately found maid jobs for 145 young girls.

Most who become servants are young and "waiting for job assignments" — the Communist euphemism for unemployed. Because of China's overpopulation, tens of millions of youths are currently believed to be without jobs.

Maids' wages are about \$10 a month, about 25 per cent of the average worker's salary. But room and board are also included, *China Daily* said.

Aquino's escort gave order to shoot, scientist claims

TOKYO (AP). — A Japanese sound specialist said on Saturday that voiceprint tests show the man who shouted "shoot" seconds before Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino was gunned down apparently was the head of Aquino's military escort.

Meanwhile, a U.S. Congressional committee says it has received an affidavit from a self-described Philippine "double agent" who said senior security officers in his country ordered him to kill Aquino. Matsumi Suzuki, head of the Japan acoustic institute, a private organization, said it was "nearly certain" from his data that the man who yelled "shoot" at Tagalog three seconds before Aquino was assassinated at Manila International Airport last August 21 was 2nd Lt. Jesus Castro.

Castro headed the escort team with Aquino when the former senator returned to Manila from three years of self-exile in the U.S.

Suzuki was one of three Japanese questioned by Japanese police on behalf of the Philippine board in-

vestigating the death of Aquino. The five-member board was in Japan February 14-23.

In Manila, one officer named in the affidavit, in a statement released Saturday through the Philippine presidential palace, denounced as a "brazen lie" and a "calculated fabrication" the allegation that he had anything to do with the assassination.

Representative Stephen Solarz has ordered the staff of his House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs to investigate the charges made by Jose Fronda Santos Jr., 34, who is seeking asylum in the U.S.

The State Department refused comment on Santos' testimony, but one official who handles Philippine matters at the department said last Friday the allegations would be checked with the U.S. Embassy in Manila and with the Philippine government.

Staff investigators for the Solarz subcommittee interviewed Santos last Friday but refused to comment afterward.

Prince's girlfriend: Nude photos fakes

LONDON (AP). — Britain's Prince Andrew, who caused a stir over his romance with the female star of two erotic movies, was back in the headlines again yesterday over alleged nude photographs of his latest flame published in a sex-and-scandal weekly.

The *New York Times*, Britain's biggest selling newspaper, ran a front page photograph of Andrew beside that of a picture of a nude it

says is his new girlfriend, model Katie Rabett.

Rabett angrily branded the photo and another on an inside page as "fakes." The photos are in soft focus with plenty of shadow and are not explicit.

"I've never posed in the nude either professionally or for friends," the Press Association, Britain's domestic news agency, quoted the 23-year-old blonde, as saying.

9th Soviet soldier held in Switzerland

BERNE (Reuters). — A Soviet soldier captured by Afghan guerrillas was transferred to Switzerland yesterday by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), a Swiss Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The soldier, said to be aged 19 but who was not further identified, will be interned with eight of his colleagues in a military detention centre under an accord worked out between the ICRC and the Soviet

and Afghan authorities.

According to the agreement the soldiers should be held in Switzerland for a maximum of two years before being repatriated to the Soviet Union. The first three arrived here on May 28, 1982.

The Swiss government and the ICRC have said that the troops were expected under the agreement to return to the Soviet Union but that none would be repatriated against his will.

Rebel raid halts Sudan building projects

PARIS (AP). — A French construction company confirmed yesterday that it had halted work on two projects in southern Sudan following a rebel raid during which one company employee was killed and six other people taken hostage.

There has been no news on the fate of the six hostages captured February 10 in an attack on an irrigation canal project in the Sobat area, a spokesman for the construction firm Societe des Grandes Travaux de Marseille said yesterday. The hostages include a pregnant West German woman and her 18-month-old son.

The company has been digging the Jonglei Canal which will divert Nile River waters for irrigation purposes in Sudan and Egypt. The construction camp is about 690 kilometres south of Sudan's capital of Khartoum.

On February 10 shortly after the attack. He also said all company employees were evacuated February 17 from an airstrip construction project in Juba.

New Delhi braces for Hindu-Sikh clashes today

NEW DELHI. — Eight men armed with submachine guns murdered two women and a two-year-old boy yesterday in battered Punjab state, just one day before Sikh agitators plan to burn part of the Indian constitution in a bonfire outside parliament.

Radical Hindus, protesting against the Sikh bonfire, have called a general strike in the capital today and put up inflammatory posters showing Hindus murdered by Sikh terrorists in the ongoing communal violence.

Security was tightened in New Delhi on all roads, around Sikh and Hindu religious shrines and at key telephone, power, water, railway, bus and airport installations.

If Sikh-Hindu violence explodes today in the secular capital, the government is expected to react sternly. It could order the army, already alerted, into Punjab to clear terrorists and arsenals out of the Sikh Golden Temple. The on-going violence in northern India has claimed at least 79 lives in 13 days.

In the shooting early yesterday, eight unidentified armed men entered a house and opened fire with submachine guns and revolvers, killing a woman, her daughter-in-law and her two-year-old grandson, the United News of India reported.

A fourth family member was seriously injured in the attack in Phewal village, 90 kilometres from Amritsar, the Sikh holy city and site of the glittering Golden Temple.

In other incidents across the state yesterday, a Sikh *Nihang* (temple guard) was killed, another was wounded and a policeman was injured by a sword cut in an encounter between the two groups.

A youth was shot dead in a village north of Amritsar and three children, all under 12 years old, were injured when there was an explosion while bombs were being made in their home in the town of Jullundur.

Police and Indian news media did not announce the religions of the victims in line with policies to prevent revenge killings.

The latest deaths and four people, including three government employees, killed on Saturday in villages near Amritsar took the death toll in six days of communal clashes in Punjab to 44, with several hundred people injured. (AP, Reuters)

Seven shot dead in Colombian violence

BOGOTA (Reuters). — The northeastern Colombian town of Abrego was under curfew yesterday with a ban on sales of alcohol following seven political killings on Saturday night, police said.

Gunmen ambushed and killed six Conservative politicians returning home from campaigning for municipal elections due on March 11, police said. Two hours later, a relative of one victim was gunned down outside his house.

Sources at the mayor's office in the town of 60,000 said the killings were the result of personal rather than political feuds. They did not elaborate.

South Africa, Angola monitor cease-fire

CAPE TOWN (Reuters). — Officials from South Africa and Angola have been meeting to discuss complaints by Pretoria that black nationalist guerrillas are threatening the three-week-old cease-fire in Angola's southern war zone.

A senior South African official said the second meeting of a joint commission set up 10 days ago to monitor the cease-fire was held on Saturday at Cuvelai, a war-battered town 200 kilometres north of the border between Angola and Namibia (South West Africa), which South Africa rules in defiance of the UN.

The official gave no details of Saturday's talks, but they follow charges by South African Foreign Minister P.W. Botha that 800 Swapo (South West Africa People's Organization) guerrillas have been heading south into Namibia from bases in Angola, threatening the cease-fire.

Swapo, fighting to end Pretoria's rule of Namibia, has been waging a sporadic bush war with South Africa for more than 17 years.

Sports

Lucky change of mind

By JACK LEON Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Australian Ricki Hill, 23, winner of the men's open and \$1,500 in prize money on Saturday night at Israel's second annual Professional Squash Championships, almost decided that it would not be worth while coming to the event at the Herzliya Squash Centre on a last-minute impulse. Hill was told by Israel Squash Promotions that the list for eight specially-invited overseas guests had already been closed, and that, if he still intended to come, he would have to pay his own air fare from London and be put up in private accommodation instead of in Herzliya's Dan-Accadia Hotel as a guest of the promoters.

After then coming close to dropping the whole idea, Hill changed his mind and informed ISP co-director Hillel Bloomberg that he had decided to pay his own fare. He was provided with accommodation. Hill — currently ranked 14th in the world — found that his winner's purse made the gamble well worth while.

Moreover, Hill's victory over fellow-Australian and long-time rival Glen Brumby in the turbulent final was only his second-ever success in some 15 matches to date between them. Brumby, also 23, was ranked eighth in the world until being sidelined by injury for six months last year.

English county players Peter Brown and Ron Coope won the two other major men's events at the meet. Brown beat Israel's Neville Berman 3-0 in the final of the over-35 competition, while, in the corresponding over-45 event, defending champion Ron Coope defeated his opponent Maurice Wilansky by the same score.

Soccer reform

By PAUL KOHN Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hapoel will press for a National League of 12 soccer clubs instead of the present 16, the Hapoel secretariat decided by an overwhelming vote yesterday.

Hapoel, the strongest body within the Football Association, will propose that four teams be relegated from the first division after next season, to be replaced by only two teams that won promotion from the second division. The same procedure would take place the following year, so that within two seasons the National League would comprise only 12 clubs.

Hapoel leaders, like former F.A. chairman Michael Alnog and secretary-general Itzhak Ofek, stressed that drastic changes were needed now in Israeli soccer. The proposed changes would raise the level of soccer in the top division and bring the crowds back to the stadiums, they claimed.

Marriage and tennis

The vexed and all-important question of whether marriage is good or bad for a player's tennis still remains unresolved, to judge from the experience of the Lloyds.

Chris Evert Lloyd, coming back to tennis after a three months lay-off and a separation from England's Davis Cup player, John Lloyd, battled back from a 4-1 deficit in the second set against Martina Navratilova, who is unmarried, to take a 6-5 lead in the \$150,000 CompuTenn U.S. Women's Indoor Championships. But then Navratilova took her service in a love game, and won the tie-breaker 7-4, to take the match 6-2, 7-6.

John Lloyd, playing for England against Italy in the Davis Cup, won his first match in handsome style. He started off with great fire in the reverse singles against Gianni Occhipello, taking the first set 6-2. But then Occhipello eroded Lloyd's will to win, and picked up the next three sets 6-2, 6-3, 6-3, thus levelling the scores at 2-2. The final and decisive reverse singles is between Colin Dowdeswell and Corrado Barazzutti.

In other Davis Cup matches Paraguay scored a shock 3-2 win over New Zealand; France, with Yannick Noah in great form, disposed of Sweden 4-1; Czechoslovakia, even though they were without Ivan Lendl, overcame Denmark; Australia, the cupholders, swept Yugoslavia without dropping a match.

Invincible Spinks

ATLANTIC CITY (Reuters). — Unbeaten world light-heavyweight champion Michael Spinks retained his title with a unanimous points decision over fellow-American Eddie Davis in their 12-round fight here yesterday.

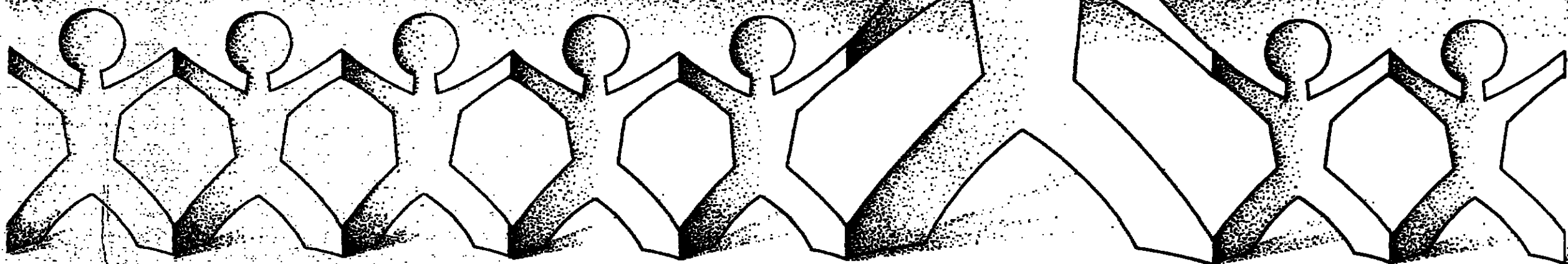
Israel Lands Administration
Southern District

Offer for Lease of Plot for Construction of
Commercial Structure in Beersheba, Old City
Tender No. BS/83/110

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract for areas, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building % on 2 floors	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
38003	35	5	1440	120	31,855,000	1,600,000

Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Beersheba district office, Rehov Ben-Zvi (above Yeholom hall) during regular working hours.
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on March 28, 1984.
Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid.

First
Cut

A1 Greenberg

Mondale Gets a Fast Start on What Could Be a Short Course

By HOWELL RAINES

IN a perfect world, two mainly Republican states that will choose only 2 percent of the 3,933 delegates to this year's Democratic National Convention would have little to do with naming the party's Presidential nominee. But in the highly imperfect world of practical politics, Iowa and New Hampshire are demonstrating once again why they play an outsized role in the nominating process.

Iowa's caucuses have been trendsetters since 1972, and since 1982 no candidate has won the Presidency without first winning his party's New Hampshire primary. This year, the last-starting, "frontloaded" campaign calendar is further inflating the already exaggerated importance of these two states.

In Iowa on Monday night, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale stomped to an impressive victory, taking 49 percent of the 85,000 votes against a field of seven opponents. Senator John Glenn, who tried to squeak by in Iowa with a patchwork organization and a muddled message, showed that candidates scrip on these early events at their peril.

Mr. Glenn blamed the defeat on the failure of independent-minded Democrats to turn out in numbers to match Mr. Mondale's following among party loyalists and union members. Others say the problem lay with Mr. Glenn as a celebrity candidate, who seemed unable to project himself as a political leader.

In any case, Mr. Glenn's fifth-place finish pulled the plug on his argument that he is the most "electable" Democrat, both in the spring and against President Reagan in the fall. It also opened the door for Senator Gary Hart, whose second-place finish with 15 percent of the vote lofted him into contention, at least until the New Hampshire returns come in on Tuesday. (Gary Hart's week in the sun, page 2)

Unproven Appeal

In New Hampshire, an estimated 100,000 to 120,000 Democratic primary voters will set the stage for a quick-kill victory by Mr. Mondale or a Democratic race that stretches into the later contests. Another extravagant success by Mr. Mondale could help remove the biggest remaining obstacle to his nomination — the lingering suspicion that he is a candidate who can do everything except get votes all across the Democratic spectrum in an open primary.

In fact, Mr. Mondale's voter appeal remains largely unproven despite his long political career. For Mr. Glenn, Mr. Hart and the five other contenders, the main strategic problem is to use the New Hampshire primary to sow doubt that Mr. Mondale can attract the popular support needed to beat President Reagan.

Mr. Glenn's advisers admit that only by beating or finishing a close second to Mr. Mondale on Tuesday can the former astronaut pump the necessary air back into his gasping campaign. Mr. Hart is also pressing for second place, aware that the prize for the top also-ran is the chance to emerge as the former Vice President's main

challenger in the so-called Super Tuesday primaries and caucuses on March 13.

Those who doubt the impact of Iowa and New Hampshire need only consider that since Iowa, there is no more talk, even among the Glenn staff, of a Southern sweep. Testimony to the hammerblows that 85,000 Iowa voters delivered to the dreams of would-be Presidents could be the hangdog words of Senator Alan Cranston, Senator Ernest F. Hollings and former Governor Reubin Askew. All arrived in New Hampshire talking about dropping out of the race.

The polls also indicate that the surge of popularity for Jesse Jackson is playing out in New Hampshire, although his weak Iowa showing could not really be blamed for his faltering. Mr. Jackson's campaign lost steam as he spent most of the week confronting reports, in The Washington Post, that he had referred to Jews as "Hymies" and New York City as "Hymietown." Mr. Jackson insisted he is not anti-Semitic, but he stopped short of a categorical denial that he had used the derogatory terms in the presence of reporters.

Senator George McGovern represented another side of the Iowa story. His third-place finish there resuscitated him politically and gave him new muscle for his self-appointed role of serving as Mr. Mondale's blocking back in the campaign debates.

He played that role again on Thursday at St. Anselm's College in Goffstown, N.H. The eight candidates, in perhaps their last appearance as an unwinnable group, met there for a debate sponsored by the League of Women Voters. But the occasion was marked mainly by

peasants to party unity punctuated by spurts of cautious arguing among Mr. Mondale, Mr. Glenn and Mr. Hart, who are now regarded as the main contenders this week in New Hampshire.

Mr. Mondale was regarded as far ahead of the two others. But his advisers and sensible political observers know that frontrunners frequently run into trouble in the New Hampshire primary.

Losing While Winning

Sometimes frontrunners are beaten outright, and Mr. Hart's aides are nursing secret hopes in that direction based on the belief that Mr. Hart's call for a "new generation" of leadership might appeal to upset-minded voters in the state. But perhaps the greater peril for Mr. Mondale is that for frontrunners in New Hampshire it is possible to lose while winning.

President Johnson did that in 1968. Mr. Johnson beat Senator Eugene McCarthy 49.6 percent to 41.9 percent but suffered a mortal wound because of the small margin of victory. It is also possible to win big while winning narrowly, as Jimmy Carter did by beating Representative Morris Udall 28.7 percent to 22.9 percent in 1976.

But even the perversities of New Hampshire politics allow for a few predictions. Mr. Glenn must show strength here or, to use his metaphor, prepare for "hanging crepe" in the South.

As for Mr. Mondale, he must beat not only his opponents, but the expectations heightened by his polished machine, his insistence that he can win when and where he needs to, and by the result in Iowa.

Air Strikes in the Shuf Mountains Last Week Were Aimed at Palestinian Forces

The Limits of Israeli Power
Mirrored in Lebanon Turmoil

By DAVID E. SHIPLER

THE full dimensions of the Israeli-American setback in Lebanon have not yet been realized but the outlines are being drawn with growing clarity. The implications go beyond Lebanon; they involve the capacity of the United States and Israel to influence the complex flow of events in the Middle East.

Many Israelis are beginning to see their involvement in Lebanon as a grave failure of perception — the mistaken belief that applying superior military force to a labyrinth of ancient feuds would bring desired results.

Peacekeeping Forces Leave
Beirut to Its Own Devices

LEBANON last week got a taste of what life may be like without a multinational force to snipe at. As the United States Marines began the final phase of their withdrawal yesterday and Italian units completed theirs, Christians and Muslims went back to rocketing and shelling each other sporadically on the green line dividing Beirut and in the mountains nearby. A cease-fire announced by a Saudi mediator seemed as tenuous as all the others. (Saudi's out front, page 4.)

As the first marines were transferred to Navy ships, Cpl. John Simeros gave this assessment: "Two hundred and sixty marines must have died for a purpose and that was supposed to be bringing peace to Lebanon," he said. "But we still got a long way to go on that."

Although the American flag was lowered at the airport, which they had tried to protect, President Reagan insisted that the marines were not finished in Lebanon and would not "bug out and go home."

They may even return ashore, he told a news conference, "if they could improve the possibility of carrying out their mission." He dismissed suggestions that Lebanon policy had failed or that Secretary of State George P. Shultz bore blame. He called talk of Mr. Shultz's resignation "disgraceful."

The marines were uncertain who would be taking over their bunkers. Gen. Jim R. Joy, their commander, wanted to hand them over to troops loyal to President Amin Gemayel.

But the airport was surrounded by anti-Gemayel militias.

The militias gave no trouble to the departing Americans, however. Mr. Reagan said the Navy was also holding its fire, even though American planes were being shot at. "We think this is a time for restraint and for hoping to cool things down," he said.

Defectors from the army joined the Muslim militias guarding Government buildings in West Beirut. President Amin Gemayel was left with mainly Christian army units defending his headquarters.

Politically, he was sandwiched between Syrian-backed Muslims, who demanded the abrogation of his May 17 agreement with Israel, and right-wing fellow Christians who insisted on maintaining the ties with Jerusalem.

Mr. Gemayel was reported ready to accept a pro-Syrian Prime Minister along with changes in the political system to give the Muslim majority more clout, if only the Syrians — and Israelis — would go home. Up to now, the Syrians have been demanding that Israel do it first before considering their own withdrawal.

But Israel said it would keep its forces in southern Lebanon until security could be assured on its northern borders. And in an iron-fisted message to its enemies in Damascus, Israel sent an armored column on a sortie to Damur, 12 miles south of Beirut, and dispatched jets to bomb positions in the Shuf that it said were held by Palestinian "terrorists."

The error, which the Americans also seemed to embrace for a time, has left both countries weakened, at least in the eyes of governments and factions in the region.

"The frustration for a superpower like the United States and a regional superpower like Israel is that you have muscles and fists, but nothing to hit," a senior Israeli Army officer said last week. "Both Israel and the United States are realizing gradually the limits of military power." The failure can be seen in the disintegration this month of much of the Lebanese Army; the isolation of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, and the departure from Beirut of the United States Marines and other multinational units, on which Mr. Gemayel had counted for support. In the south, Israel has hunkered down to defend

its own troops and its northern border. Its air strike in the Shuf last week was meant to discourage Palestinians, not to buck up Mr. Gemayel. Trapped in southern Lebanon, Israel has lost the initiative and much of its maneuverability. Its prospects are for a long-term military presence, although possibly with thinner deployment in a smaller area than it now controls. But in the absence of a Lebanese Army or a local militia able to police the territory, complete withdrawal looks unlikely.

Thus Israel's balance sheet on the war has run decidedly into the debit side. It invaded Lebanon in June 1982 to damage the Palestine Liberation Organization and drive it from its bases within rocket and artillery range of northern Israel. That has been done, as Ariel Sharon, the main architect of the war, noted in an interview last week. "Although we have not accomplished everything we wanted to," he said, "I would not compare the situation now in southern Lebanon with the situation when the P.L.O. had its kingdom of terror there, with its capital in Beirut. That was a center of world terror that doesn't exist anymore."

At least not now. But to prevent its reconstruction, Israel hoped for a viable Lebanon ruled by a central Government strong enough to control Lebanese territory. Bashir Gemayel, Amin's younger brother and a ruthless Christian Phalangist, was Israel's candidate to impose order on Lebanon's ethnic and religious factions. He was elected President under Israeli guns and assassinated before taking office — on orders, many Israelis believe, of Syrian intelligence.

Yuval Neeman, Israel's right-wing Minister of Science and Technology, recently described Jerusalem's cold-blooded prescription for Lebanon. Mr. Neeman saw Bashir Gemayel as "very much the modern condottiere" who with methods remi-



Column of Israeli armored personnel carriers driving through a Lebanese town north of the Awali River last week. The patrol was seen as a warning to the Palestinians and Syrians.

niscient of the Sforzas and Borgias in 15th century Italy — "killing some of his adversaries, poisoning the rest" — might have remade Lebanon. After his assassination, the minister added, "there was no more hope for Lebanon to reconstitute itself."

Instead, the Israeli invasion simply laid the basis for a new civil war in which the power of the Maronite Christians, the group with which Israel had allied itself, is being whittled away and Lebanon is carved into new spheres of influence. "I don't believe this country, or non-country, is ripe for stable, long-term equilibrium," the senior Israeli officer said. "I wouldn't say there will be partition, but (rather) full Syrian influence in the north and the Bekaa, wide Israeli influence in the south, and the rest of the country dominated by ethnic groups according to their natural equilibrium of weakness."

The Lebanon invasion was made possible by Israel's peace treaty with Egypt, which removed Egyptian forces from the Arab order of battle. That allowed Israel to leave its southern flank only lightly defended while conducting an optional war to the north. For Cairo, however, the invasion became a reason for cooling relations with Israel and moving back toward the Arab fold while maintaining only minimal observance of the treaty.

For Syria, the 1982 defeat led, paradoxically, to new military

strength. The stinging defeat of the Syrian Air Force and its Soviet-made missile batteries humiliated Damascus and Moscow while exposing Israeli technological prowess for a peripheral purpose — not a war of national survival. Israeli intelligence specialists believe the battles stimulated Soviet efforts to build up the quality and quantity of Syrian weaponry and develop methods to counter the Israeli techniques. This appears to have helped Syria toward its goal of military parity with Israel. Taken with the deep divisions in the Israeli public over the ethics of the Lebanon adventure, which may look to Syria like Israeli irresolution, the new situation is seen in Jerusalem as raising the prospect of a miscalculation by Damascus. "Our major military preoccupation is with Syria," said Aharon Yariv, a former chief of military intelligence who heads the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. "We are worried about a Syrian buildup to the point where the Syrians will be prepared to take us on by themselves. I see this as our major strategic problem. Their objective may be to take most of the Golan Heights during the time we try to mobilize, and then they can play the political game."

Lebanon distracts Israel's military planners. "Lebanon makes us drag our military feet," Mr. Yariv said. "It requires a lot of attention. I think we should get out with most of the forces we have there."

Cultural
dissent in
Poland

4

The Nation

Where There's A Campaign, There's Reagan

If Ronald Reagan learned anything in Hollywood, it was how to make the most of a spotlight. Accordingly, he took his Presidential roadshow to Iowa last week, clearly trying to upstage the Democrats.

In rallies in Waterloo and Des Moines on caucus day, Mr. Reagan, unopposed for the Republican nomination, not only captured much of the local press attention but tried out a few campaign themes. He repeatedly cast himself as the only thing standing between his audiences and a whopping tax increase, insisting that Americans would be much worse off had Jimmy Carter been re-elected. And those who carped about social "fairness," he noted, most likely "can't see you unless you belong to a special interest group."

Mr. Reagan stumped with an earnestness that might have reflected his advisers' fear that many in the farm belt blame him for their continuing hard times. Iowa has gone Republican in the past four Presidential elections and Mr. Reagan once worked there as a radio announcer. But a recent Des Moines Register poll showed that, in a tally of Iowa approval ratings, the President trailed Walter F. Mondale 39 percent to 53 percent.

The White House decided weeks ago on a campaign strategy intended to capitalize on the Rose Garden advantage by keeping Mr. Reagan himself above the battle and out of the states that hold primaries until after the voters have gone to the polls. In New Hampshire, that happens on Tuesday. This weekend a wave of high Administration officials and Republican officeholders swept the state. The presence of the President's surrogates was designed to control damage of Democrats' stepped-up attacks on the President. It also seemed likely to reinforce an effort by conservative Republicans to persuade Democrats to write in Mr. Reagan's name on their ballots.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department, disposing of a little business left over from the 1980 campaign, said that after an eight-month investigation it had been unable to uncover any "credible evidence" that any law had been broken when Mr. Reagan's campaign staff obtained briefing materials prepared for Jimmy Carter. Left unresolved were conflicting statements by White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker 3d and William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence. Mr. Baker said he thought he had received Carter papers from Mr. Casey, who managed the Reagan campaign; Mr. Casey said he wouldn't have touched the material "with a 10-foot pole."

Labor Loses On Bankruptcy

In the past year two major companies — Continental Air Lines and Wilson Foods — have availed them-

selves of Federal bankruptcy laws to unilaterally lower the standard of living of their employees.

If that wasn't bad enough for organized labor, a United States Supreme Court decision last week could make it easier for other companies to follow suit.

The case involved the Bildisco Manufacturing Company, a small New Jersey building supplier that filed for Chapter 11 protection in 1980 and then refused to pay a previously negotiated raise. In upholding an appellate panel decision, the Court unanimously agreed that a company need not prove a labor agreement would lead to its demise to alter the terms.

Justice William H. Rehnquist said the life-or-death standard sought by the teamsters' union representing the Bildisco workers and by the National Labor Relations Board, which joined the appeal, was "fundamentally at odds with the policies of flexibility and equity built into Chapter 11."

In a second issue raised by the case, the Court decided by a 5-to-4 vote that, once a company has applied for bankruptcy, it could go ahead and break a labor contract before a judge grants relief.

With about half a million cases pending, bankruptcies are already booming. As word of the decision spread through the annual meeting of the Executive Council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Bal Harbour, Fla., there was fear of a new wave of filings aimed, the labor leaders said, at "union busting."

"It's outrageous," said William Wipperfurth, president of the International Association of Machinists. "This was never to be the intent of Congress."

Indeed, the Court had barely announced the ruling when Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., the New Jersey Democrat who heads the Judiciary Committee, introduced a bill to overturn it. Another proposal to give the N.L.R.B. precedence over the Bankruptcy Code is already in the House hopper.

Court Sides With Disabled

Nowhere in the Constitution does it say that Cabinet members can choose whether or not to obey Federal court orders, the United States Court of Appeals informed the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Margaret M. Heckler, last week.

The Ninth Circuit bench ordered Mrs. Heckler to restore disability benefits to about 34,000 former Social Security recipients and rebuked her for not having complied earlier with two related court orders.

The prior rulings said Mrs. Heckler's agency had to prove that a recipient's medical condition had improved before benefits could be terminated. Mrs. Heckler had not appealed the earlier rulings, but said simply that her agency "does not acquiesce" to them.

The San Francisco panel held that in her "nonacquiescing," Mrs. Heck-

Hart Savors the Spotlight's Glow



Senator Gary Hart, a center of attention last week.

Associated Press

ONLY a month ago, Senator Gary Hart could lean back at the end of a long day of campaigning and entertain three reporters and two aides — his entire entourage — with imitations of the Southern drawl of Senator Ernest Hollings, one of his opponents for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

What a difference a second place finish in the Iowa caucuses has made. Last week, visiting a toxic waste dump near Londonderry, N.H., to dramatize his call for more Federal cleanup assistance, he was accompanied by no fewer than eight Secret Service agents, several state troopers and more than 80 reporters, cameramen and television technicians. Mr. Hart had clearly moved from center — at least until day after tomorrow, when this state holds its Presidential primary.

In his post-Iowa campaigning, Mr. Hart shifted gears somewhat, presenting himself as the alternative to Walter F. Mondale, the front runner, not just a publicity-seeking member of the Democratic pack. "I have the best chance of any candidate to defeat Ronald Reagan," the Senator declared at a press conference on Friday. "I will be liberated from defending past

policies and I will have the opportunity to define the terms of debate," he said. "I can put Ronald Reagan on the defensive rather than the other way around."

But several of his opponents and other analysts say that even if he does well on Tuesday, it's questionable whether he could capitalize on early primary and caucus strength because of a lack of organization and finances in other states.

Mr. Hart seems convinced that he can go far with a few new ideas. Responding to a question in last week's candidates debate, he said that he was unique in urging a halt to production of plutonium as well as nuclear weapons themselves. He talked of a national industrial training account that would be underwritten by employer and employee contributions and provide the unemployed with new skills; he spoke of "reforming" the military by spending more on pay and training, less on weaponry.

As he outlines these proposals, he frequently appears to be consciously emulating the John F. Kennedy staccato speaking style, perhaps a reflection of the influence of Ted Sorensen, the Kennedy speech writer who is co-chairman of the Hart campaign. Mr. Hart continues to refer to the glory years of the New Frontier, even

though his initial governmental positions after Yale Law School were in the Johnson Administration, and his first national political experience came in 1972 as the young campaign manager for another "new" politician of the time, George McGovern.

Mr. Hart tries to avoid ideological labels even though polls indicate that he is clearly identified with the liberal wing of the party. In any event, his principal competitors for runner-up honors in Iowa were two liberals, Mr. McGovern and California Senator Alan Cranston, and there are those who in hindsight attribute Mr. Hart's triumph over Mr. Cranston and Mr. McGovern to nothing more than Mr. Hart's age and relatively youthful appearance.

Even Mr. Hart's most avid boosters admit that his is an uphill struggle. Many see his year's campaign as a possible warmup for 1988 when — assuming an incumbent Democratic President isn't around to run for re-election — the party's field of contenders might include such relative newcomers as Governor Cuomo of New York and Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey. Indeed, one Hart fundraiser spoke last week of post-Iowa contributors lining up early "to get on the 1988 bandwagon."

—FRANK LYNN

Larnun Hotta Talk Mare-kin



Randy Jones

A Region That Takes Its Freedom of Speech Literally

WITH the mimic Prezidentsul can-dates and plitcul vizards runnun roun this here reejun these daze, yu'd think they'd larn hotta talk Midwest.

Fern as it may sound, Midwesternese is but one more dialect in what one linguist, Dana Wall, calls Mare-kin, the ever-changing English spoken by Americans. Some say it requires little more than a lazy mouth, dropping a syllable here, a consonant there. But there are rules and, as Mr. Wall puts it, "With a liddle prakdz, inny-one kin duet."

The rest of America is likely to hear lots of Middle Western dialect this year — four of the eight Democratic Presidential contenders are from the region, as have been two of the last three Presidents, including Ronald Reagan of Illinois and Iowa. Mr. Reagan useta talk on the ray-joe in Dub Moyn, the state cabaddull. These daze Mr. Wall, a 51-year-old English language consultant to 28 school districts around Sioux City (Soo Siddy) is filling up his notebook for a new dictionary.

Among the rules: Whenever possible, substitute "un" for "ing" as in, go-un, workun and bringun.

"T" sounds within words become "d" sounds, as in "See ya layder" or "budder," the yellow stuff one spreads on bread.

Run words together to save time. "Awrite, I hurja the furs time," or "S'worse'nigh though" or "Wire you do-un that?"

But many hours can be broken into two or more words as in "am blunts" (a murrn'cy vickul), "bld ins" such as barns and farmhouses, or "lug juries" such as fur coats and Cadillac.

Some pronunciations vary even within of a single state. In I'wah, where they grow lots of "betaters," ham-burgers are said to be "greecy" north of Interstate 80, but to the south they are "greecy." In Sioux City it's the "fey-er" department while it's the "far" department across the river in "Sow Soo," South Sioux City. According to Mr. Wall, the first year of Middle Western school is "kin-nergarden" or "kindy garden." Kindergartens are for ferners.

Candidates meeting Midwesterners must be careful when talking to "humers" of campaign workers about "thousins" of votes and "gummint deaf-sits." The candidates must circle-eight as much as possible and talk of local topics — the timptitcher, lectric rates or sport snooze including local basketball. Fern fairs may come up too, ekspeeshully involving Leb-non or Mare-ka's 'lantic allies in Yerp.

Mr. Wall says he has fun with language, but the humor has a serious point.

"Mare-kin is a living language," he says, "and we ought to stop apologizing for all the changes creeping into our language. Mare-kin is different from what it was two centuries ago and the British aren't speaking Elizabethan English anymore either."

Meanwhile, Midwesterners are listening real careful-like to all those Dimcrats and that Raypublican. For those who don't sound right, they may have just two words to say: blow knee.

For those who would like to brush up, some d'annul vocabulary follows:

Winner: season after fall; zacklee: precisely; jewry: earrings, nicklaces, ekotera; par mee: excuse me; re-sternt: a place to eat; lass cheer: 1983; swirled: this planet; come neat: dinner time.

—ANDREW H. MALCOLM

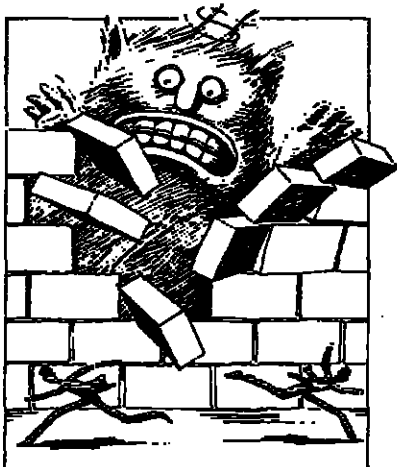
Deficit Deals: Faith, Hope and Little Charity

HOPE springs eternal." House majority leader Jim Wright of Texas said last week after a meeting of Congressional and Administration budget negotiators. "Faith is the evidence of things not seen."

It has been a long time since any deficit reduction action has been seen. Last year, Congress failed to approve even modest spending reductions and tax increases. But Mr. Wright's faith may be rewarded. Last week the Senate Finance Committee approved a three-year budget reduction target of \$100 billion, assuming \$50 billion in tax increases and \$50 billion in spending reductions.

Toward that goal, the committee approved \$8.7 billion in savings over three years in Medicare and Medicaid. Committee chairman Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, could get his panel to approve other proposed spending reductions and tax increases this week. At the same time, the House Ways and Means Committee, under Democratic chairman Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, prepared to write and approve its own \$50 billion, three-year tax increase.

On Friday, Republican Senator Pete Domenici of New Mexico, the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, walked into the third session of the so-called bipartisan budget negotiations with a defense budget proposal that would slash the President's proposed 13 percent increase in 1985 to 5 percent.



James R. Jones

Over three years, the Domenici proposal would cut military spending authority by almost \$80 billion. While the White House rejected the idea in general terms, Democrats and Republicans were ready to discuss it as a deficit reduction Congress could approve despite the President's opposition.

Thus Congress clearly is hoping to move on its own track toward tackling the deficit problem, even if the negotiations between Democratic and Republican Congressional leaders and the White House collapse, possibly over the Domenici plan. And it is possible that the House and the Senate could produce an overall package that is a little larger than the \$100 billion deficit "down payment" President Reagan has proposed.

For Democrats, there is a political reason for action separate from the bipartisan negotiations the President initiated in his State of the Union address.

By approving a deficit-reduction package assembled by Demo-

crats and Republicans on Capitol Hill, Congress might deny the President some of the political advantage he could gain from an agreement reached with Administration leadership and unveiled before television cameras at the White House.

But another driving force is the Federal budget deficit, and concern over it was heightened last week when the Congressional Budget Office released its analysis of President Reagan's 1985 budget. The Administration projected that budget deficits would be \$180 billion through 1987 and then decline to \$123 billion by 1989. The C.B.O., however, startled many by projecting that budget deficits would rise from \$192 billion in fiscal year 1985 to \$248 billion in 1989, even with approval of the modest budget cuts and tax increases the President proposed. The budget office figures suggested that even a \$100 billion reduction over three years would not get deficits below the \$200 billion level.

If that was not enough bad fiscal news for lawmakers to ponder in an election year, the Consumer Price Index rose 0.6 percent in January. Although much of the increase resulted from severe winter weather pushing up food prices, it was enough to worry some economists.

Despite these pressures and Mr. Wright's faith, a deficit reduction agreement between the House and the Senate and the White House still appears to be a long way off. Nevertheless, Senator Daniel K. Inouye, a Democrat of Hawaii and one of the negotiators was encouraged. "I would like to suggest that there is a little light at the other end of the tunnel," he said.

—JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

The World

The Pressure Rises on Help For El Salvador

Officials in Washington had more than one Presidential election campaign on their minds last week. With voting in El Salvador on March 25, Secretary of State George P. Shultz said the Salvadoran Government was running low on weapons it might need to combat "increased guerrilla efforts to disrupt" the elections. If Congress doesn't speedily approve the Administration's \$178.7 million supplemental aid request, he said, Presidential powers and legal loopholes might be used to keep the weapons flowing.

Helicopters, for example; this month the Salvadoran Army has lost three, two last weekend with the loss of 28 soldiers. That has left eight still flying out of 21 helicopters purchased with American aid.

Democratic senators accused the Administration of repeating the mistakes of Vietnam. It was "losing the war for the hearts and minds of people," Senator J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana said. Blowing up bridges and power stations as the rebels have done, Mr. Shultz replied, was not winning Salvadoran hearts and minds.

Several senators insisted Salvadoran aid must be tied to progress reports on human rights, a Congressional demand vetoed recently by President Reagan. Mr. Shultz said the Administration agreed on the need to end death-squad activities and improve the Salvadoran justice system. But when Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, Republican of Kansas, said Congress should be the judge of the progress, he groaned.

In San Salvador, meanwhile, Roberto Ismael Ayala, a conservative politician, was killed by gunmen outside his home. He was the fourth conservative legislator slain since the 60-member Constituent Assembly was sworn in two years ago.

Nicaragua to Vote

The Sandinista Government in Nicaragua announced last week the first elections since it came to power in 1979. The country will vote for a president and a constituent assembly Nov. 4, considerably earlier than previously indicated. How free the electoral process will be remained unclear.

Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the junta, said, "We don't want the democracy that the North American Administration wants to impose on us." Washington has been pressing for open elections but Managua has yet to deal with one obstacle—an emergency law that prohibits political parties from holding meetings and authorizes the Government to censor the press. Some junta members have talked of relaxing these provisions.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz expressed skepticism about the fairness of the elections and called for international monitoring. Mr. Shultz declined to commit himself to dropping American support for the so-called Contras, who are trying to overthrow the junta, even if the Sandinistas won an honest election. "There are many aspects of Nicaraguan behavior that are incompatible with peace and stability in Central America," he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The only concrete step announced by the Managua Government to prepare for the election was a bill to lower the voting age from 18 to 16. This was expected to increase the vote for the Sandinistas, who are popular among Nicaraguan youth.

Mutual Help in Southern Africa

Black Marxist Mozambique and white anti-Marxist South Africa dropped dogma for pragmatism last week. They announced agreement in principle on a security pact because, they said, the region "has been plagued by conflict for too long."

Spelled out, the agreement meant that each side would stop helping rebel forces seeking to overthrow the other. The right-wing Mozambique National Resistance Movement has been supported by the South Africans while Mozambique territory has served the African National Congress as a launch site for attacks on South Africa. More than security interests were involved. Mozambique, an impoverished former colony of Portugal, needs trade with South Africa and its help in completing the big Cahora Bassa Dam project, which in turn will supply electricity to South Africa.

Only a month ago, Mozambique's President Samora M. Machel was vowing continuing support for the African National Congress.

With a previous disengagement and cease-fire agreement with Marxist Angola, which the United States agreed last week to help monitor, South Africa has now considerably improved security on its frontiers and on those of South-West Africa, or Namibia, which it controls. But peace may not be complete in either the Angola or Mozambique sec-

tor. In Lisbon, a spokesman for the Mozambique National Resistance Movement said the agreement with South Africa "will have little impact, if any," on its offensive against the Machel Government. And in Angola, South Africa charged that 800 Namibian guerrillas were moving back into areas its forces had vacated. Emergency talks were held yesterday between the South Africans and the Angolans to preserve the fragile truce.

The French Get All Choked Up

In France, misery seems to love company. Last year, medical workers, policemen and teachers among others caused disruptions with strikes and demonstrations. Last month, farmers parked their tractors on rail lines to protest low meat prices and cheap imports. And last week, French truck drivers, fed up with customs red tape, blockaded almost all of the country's main highways, creating one of the biggest traffic jams in French history and a threat to the authority of President



Riot police confronting truck drivers near Beanne, France, last week.

François Mitterrand. During the ordeal, factories shut down for lack of parts and some towns reported food shortages. The tie-ups disrupted traffic throughout Europe, and neighboring countries asked Paris for compensation for their own truck drivers stranded at French borders.

The crisis started to wind down when the truckers' leaders announced that the Government would examine their demands, which included lower fuel taxes and concessions on retirement and disability pay. The drivers, tired and divided, were not celebrating. "The unions tricked us," a driver said tearfully. "We got nothing."

The truckers, many of whom own their own rigs, complained that the Socialist Government had slighted small entrepreneurs in favor of big state companies and public employees. "On top of everything," another driver said, "we want some consideration."

Settling Scores in Argentina

Argentina's elected Government last week pursued its cleanup of political and foreign policy flotsam left over from its 1982 debacle in the Falklands. On the domestic front, the three military officers who launched the short-lived seizure of the British-ruled islands were arrested. Internationally, President Raúl Alfonsín moved to smooth relations with London; he has dropped Argentine insistence on first resolving the dispute over Falkland sovereignty that has blocked negotiations.

The former President, Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri, and his 1982 junta colleagues, Adm. Jorge Anaya and Air Force Brig. Gen. Basilio Lami Dozo, were detained by the highest military court, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces.

The three officers and six other former junta members were also facing military trials on charges they bore responsibility for thousands of political murders and widespread torture during the 1970's anti-terrorist campaign.

Human rights activists' demands for punishment have upset some officers. "Someone had to dirty their hands," a senior army man said defending his colleagues. He said attacks on the military by "subversives" could "provoke a confrontation," although there are no signs this is imminent.

Henry Gbiger
Milt Freudenheim
and Katherine Roberts

Syria Last Week Rejected Peace Plan for Lebanon

Saudi Diplomatic Efforts Settle Little, Please Few

By JUDITH MILLER

DAMASCUS, Syria — Saudi diplomacy has been engaged for the past two weeks in a well-publicized, and to date, largely unsuccessful effort to mediate a peace plan for Lebanon acceptable to Syria, Syria's Lebanese allies and the Government of President Amin Gemayel.

The highly visible Saudi role in what is at best an uncertain undertaking appears to contradict Riyadh's traditional low-risk, low-key style. Arab and other observers in the region have been somewhat baffled by it. Saudi mediation in Lebanon, however, is not new. Last year, for example, the Saudis negotiated a temporary cease-fire among warring factions. Yesterday, another cease-fire sponsored by the Saudis was holding but appeared just as tenuous as all the others.

In the past year, political circumstances in Lebanon have changed. Syria is close to achieving its objectives there. Saudi mediation, or meddling, as some Syrians view it, can only be useful to Damascus to the extent that it speeds the outcome that Syria seeks.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad insists that President Gemayel cancel Lebanon's May 17 pact with Israel, which provides among other things for the simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces from Lebanon. Mr. Assad wants Israeli troops and the multinational peace-keeping force to leave without reference to what Syria does. With the departure last week of the Italian contingent, the previous departure of the British and the withdrawal to ships offshore of the American marines, some of that goal is achieved although Israel remains in the south.

President Assad also wants President Gemayel, a Christian Maronite, to assure Lebanon's Muslims a greater share of power.

Last week, Prince Saud al-Faisal, the Saudi Foreign Minister, appeared in Damascus with an eight-point peace plan whose origins are still unclear but which was acceptable to President Gemayel. Some Saudis thought it would also be acceptable to the Syrians, but they appear to have badly miscalculated.

While the plan provides for cancellation of the May 17 pact, it retains the provision for simultaneous withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli forces. Syria, which has an estimated 50,000 troops in

Lebanon, has long sought to distinguish its presence in Lebanon from that of Israel. The Israelis are invaders while Syria was invited into Lebanon in 1976 under Arab League auspices, Damascus asserts. Therefore, the Syrians conclude, the Israelis must leave immediately and unconditionally. Syria, on the other hand, says it would be prepared to leave if and when a more broadly based Government of Lebanon, one over which Syria would obviously have considerable influence, asked it to go. Some analysts doubt that Syria would be willing to leave Lebanon at all.

For some reason, Saudi mediators failed to take the Syrians at their word and the Syrian reaction was uncharacteristically blunt and swift. Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam denounced the plan at the airport arrival ceremony for Prince Saud.

The Syrians, who receive almost a billion dollars a year in aid from Riyadh, spared the Saudi Foreign Minister total humiliation. They portrayed the peace plan as a Gemayel initiative, a characterization echoed by Prince Saud. The Syrians also attempted to soften the blow by welcoming Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah to Damascus last week in grand style.

The Saudis were then sent back to Lebanon with some "fresh ideas," in the words of Prince Saud. The "fresh ideas" turned out to be President Assad's standing demands that Mr. Gemayel cancel the May 17 pact and give the Muslims more power. Since then, the Saudis have been attempting to work out a compromise with the Lebanese that is strongly tilted toward Syria.

Not The First Failure

The mediating failure in Lebanon is not Saudi Arabia's only recent disappointment. Its efforts to mediate an end to the Iran-Iraq war have also come to naught. In addition, the Saudis have been forced to postpone once again an Arab League summit, which was supposed to take place in Riyadh on March 31, because of the rifts among radical and more moderate Arab states.

Traditional Saudi reticence in the diplomatic arena has particularly frustrated the United States, which has often pressed Saudi Arabia without much success to use its much-vaunted economic clout on behalf of Washington's goals.

Despite American entreaties, Saudi Arabia did not take issue with the overwhelming Arab con-



Prince Saud al-Faisal, Saudi Foreign Minister

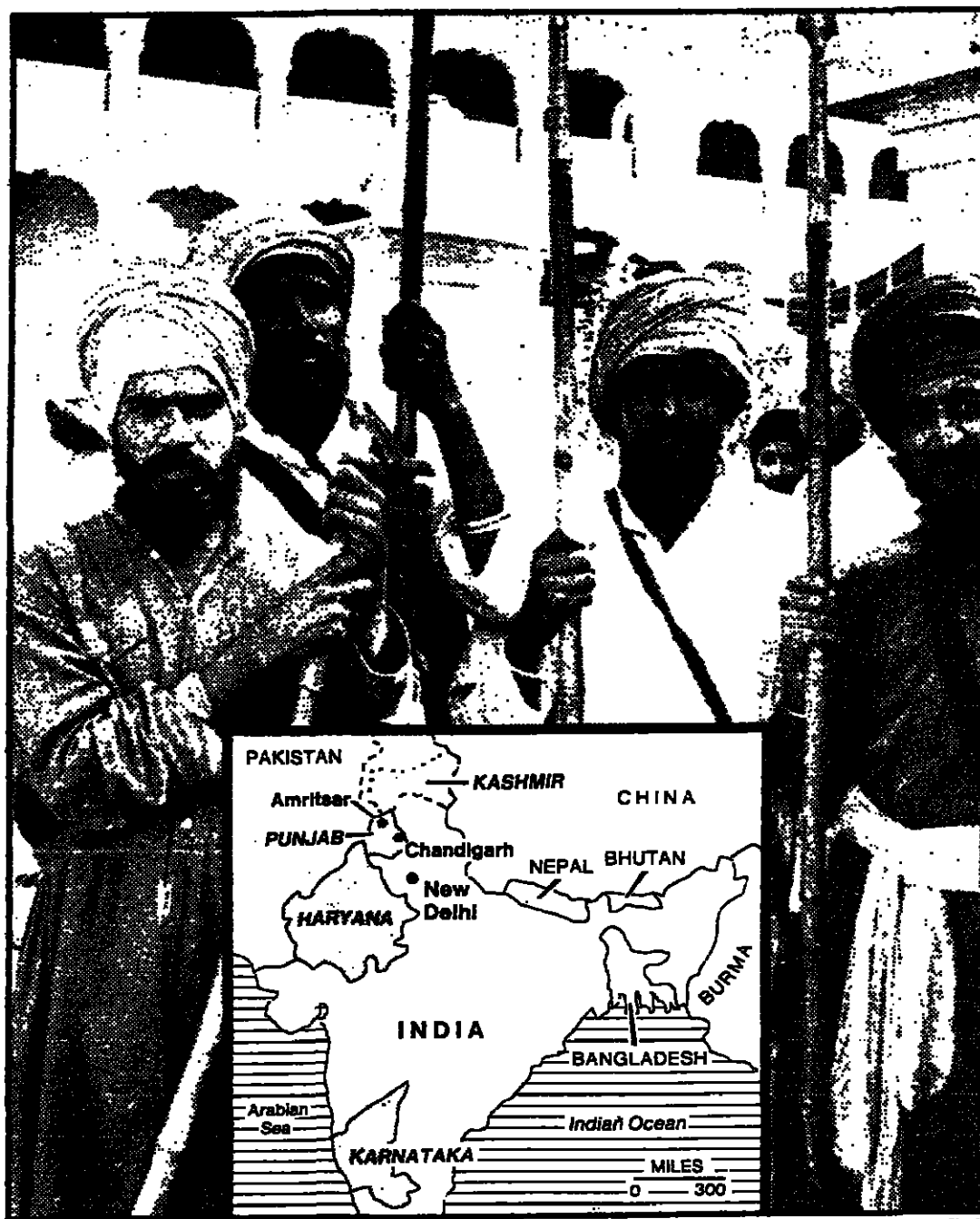
demnation of Egypt for making peace with Israel. Nor has it been in the forefront of efforts to end Egypt's political isolation.

Last April, the Saudis refused to press the Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan to make a deal that would permit them to enter negotiations with Israel as provided for by President Reagan's peace initiative of 1982. In fact, Arab diplomats say that Saudi Arabia has not been particularly supportive of the emergence of a coalition of more moderate Arab powers ready to negotiate with Israel.

Saudi Arabia refuses to overreach, mainly because of fear. Despite its vast economic resources, the country remains militarily and politically vulnerable. The vast sums paid from Riyadh to Arab nations and groups throughout the region may buy protection but not genuine influence. The most recent experience in Lebanon is likely to remind Saudi Arabia of the risks of overly bold diplomacy.

Sikh Violence, Other Troubles Seem Little Threat to Mrs. Gandhi's Power

India Feels the Heat of Internal Friction



Sikhs in Amritsar, India.

also said the Gandhi Government had not controlled rising prices, maintained law and order or coped with problems like those in Punjab.

In the face of what may be an uphill battle, Mrs. Gandhi has weighed in with characteristic energy and bite. Hale and energetic at 66 years old, she is an indefatigable fighter and shrewd politician. But critics have questioned her tactics. For example, for weeks she has been insisting that India faces serious threats to its unity and integrity from enemies abroad (always unnamed) and at home. The nation, she said recently, is up against "near-secessionist agitations and organizations at home" as well as "the international forces of destabilization which are receiving comfort from these domestic elements." Her message is that only she and Congress-I can save the country. To critics and even some friends, this smacks of demagoguery. India magazine accused her of "whipping up a cloud of paranoia" about supposed enemies "lurking in every corner."

A Mother Figure

Mrs. Gandhi's party, moreover, has been accused of trying to topple opposition state governments by questionable means. In the southern state of Karnataka, Congress-I tried unsuccessfully to bring down the government by inducing its supporters to defect. It was suggested, but not proved, that money was dispensed from a suitcase in a hotel room in aid of the effort.

In Kashmir, in a brutal exercise of what Indians call "street politics," Congress-I demonstrators were accused of deliberately stirring up violence to destabilize the state government. And in Kashmir and Punjab, Congress-I is widely accused of exacerbating the friction by appealing to Hindu chauvinism, to attract support from the Hindu national majority.

Critics say Mrs. Gandhi is holding too tight a rein; that the country is too large and diverse to be controlled from the center; that expressions of political sentiment and regional difference must be given freer play. She replies that only strong central control can keep India from flying apart.

Mrs. Gandhi is regarded as a strong personal force for national unity like her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, before her. To millions of voters, she is "Amma" — Mother, or Durga, the important Hindu mother goddess, reincarnated. In The Illustrated Weekly's poll, a whopping 94 percent called her an able national leader. Without Mrs. Gandhi, it is widely believed, Congress-I would stand little chance of winning the next election. In her zeal for control, critics say, she has gravely weakened the Congress leadership. Her son, Rajiv, is in charge of a crash effort to repair the damage but his abilities are widely doubted.

The opposition, however, has long been fragmented and contentious, unable to cohere long enough to hold onto power. (Maneka Gandhi's new party is considered a minor factor.) In local elections and national by-elections since 1982, total opposition votes have often outweighed the Congress-I showing. Now there are signs that the opposition may unite behind a single candidate in some constituencies. However, voters in the villages will still ask the opposition, "If you win, who will be prime minister?" The opposition can't answer until after the voting. For the Congress, only one answer is possible.

Mrs. Gandhi insists the elections "will come when they are due," next January at the latest. She may wait to announce the date until after the state assemblies have elected members of the upper house of Parliament in May. Her party is expected to obtain a two-thirds majority in that contest. If it held two-thirds of both houses, it could amend the Constitution to strengthen its position even further.

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

NEW DELHI — Sometime in the next 10 months, more likely later than sooner, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi must ask the voters for another five-year term. As she surveys this huge, contentious land that defies all efforts to lead it effectively, there is much to suggest that she is in trouble.

On the northwestern plains of Punjab and Haryana, in a violent, intractable uprising, the Sikhs are demanding greater independence. After 18 months, their campaign has taken an ugly turn and in the last 10 days, more than 50 people have been killed in mounting violence there. In the Himalayan vistas of the Kashmir Valley, fierce local nationalism brought overwhelming defeat for Mrs. Gandhi's Congress-I (for India) Party last year. And regional parties govern three of the four states of south India for the first time. On all the country's edges, dissonance or violence prevails. Even in the Hindi-

speaking heartland of north-central India, Mrs. Gandhi's stronghold, her party did not roll up big majorities in last year's by-elections. She lost some seats outright and, adding insult to injury, a small opposition party headed by her estranged daughter-in-law, Maneka, took one seat in the heartland.

To top it off, India is suffering from 12 percent inflation that in the voters' minds may more than offset the prosperity yielded by two record harvests in a row.

How, then, can Mrs. Gandhi win? Mainly because she is Mrs. Gandhi and the opposition has no one like her. The early betting is that whenever she calls the election, Congress-I will again win a majority in the lower house of Parliament — although with considerably less than its current two-thirds. A poll published last week by The Illustrated Weekly magazine suggests that a plurality in most of the country is still ready to vote for Congress-I. A majority said they believe Congress has provided strong, stable government and effective foreign policy. But a majority

Voters Resigned to Austerity but Clamoring for Direct Elections

Brazil Is Prepared to Bet on Civilian Rule

By ALAN RIDING

RIO DE JANEIRO — Brazil's galloping inflation, rising crime and a glaring absence of government leadership might have provoked a military takeover if the military hadn't taken over 20 years ago.

In Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela, three other Latin American countries thrown into tailspins by huge foreign debts, the immediate answer to accompanying political crises was the installation of governments elected with strong popular mandates. But Brazil is being denied this option by the plan to pick the country's next president through an indirect election.

Displaying little confidence in the outgoing President, João Baptista Figueiredo, or any of the three civilians hoping to be named his successor by a Government-dominated electoral college, Brazil appears to be drifting in no particular direction. Its political crisis was brought on by economic problems, but political uncertainty has now become the greatest obstacle to economic recovery.

For a country that grew accustomed to authoritarian rule and rapid economic growth over much of the past two decades, the metamorphosis has proved unnerving. Optimism, which until recently seemed to come naturally to most Brazilians, has vanished. Chronic social problems, ignored during the economic miracle of yesterday, are resurfacing with violence at a time of deep recession and amid official attempts to impose austerity as a condition for continued international financial help.

In response to this political vacuum, there is a growing demand for direct elections. According to polls, the overwhelming majority of Brazilians, particularly those living in the more developed south, believe that a presi-

dent chosen directly by the electorate would have the right to ask for sacrifices and the authority to impose austerity. And while no easy answers to Brazil's problems may exist, direct elections are widely perceived as the political solution.

Prodded into action by worried military chiefs, General Figueiredo has tried to smother the campaign for direct elections. He repeated earlier this month that the next president would be picked by the 686-member electoral college in January 1985 and take office two months later. But demonstrations in favor of direct elections continued around the country last week, unperturbed by the Government's admonition. Eight state governors belonging to the opposition led a huge rally Friday in Belo Horizonte, Brazil's third largest city. There have already been big demonstrations in the two biggest cities, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Even leftist parties, forced underground after the 1964 military coup, have reappeared in public to demand their legalization.

Dissension Spreads to Government

The opposition's new assertiveness has been fed by the regime itself. In the late 1970's the army sponsored an *abertura* — a political opening — by lifting press censorship, decreeing a political amnesty and allowing direct elections for the Chamber of Deputies and state governors in November 1982. But more recently, what is widely seen as General Figueiredo's own lack of political leadership has encouraged the opposition and stimulated dissension within Government ranks.

Two of the candidates for the official Social Democratic Party's nomination at its September convention, former São Paulo Governor Paulo Maluf and Interior Minister Mario Andreazza, believe that indirect elections

offer them their best hope of reaching the presidency. But Vice President Aureliano Chaves has come out openly in favor of direct elections — and against official economic policy — challenging the very system that brought him to office in 1979 and adding to the political confusion.

The objection to the system of indirect elections is not simply that it is less than fully democratic: Government officials like to remind voters that in the 1982 Congressional elections, they knew they were also picking some delegates to the electoral college. But the composition of the college is weighted so that the tiny or sparsely populated states of northern Brazil, where the official party is still influential, are given the same voice as the developed and crowded states of the south, which are in opposition hands.

An opposition-sponsored amendment to the Constitution that provides for direct elections will be taken up by Congress in April, but approval is unlikely.

The military regime's resistance to direct elections stems from its fear of a return of left-leaning populism, personified today by the Governor of Rio de Janeiro State, Leonel Brizola, a leading figure in the civilian government ousted in 1964. The sight of senior officers from Argentina's recent military governments being jailed by that country's new civilian administration has further unsettled Brazil's military elite.

President Figueiredo's current stance may be a prelude to negotiations with the opposition, perhaps for direct elections later on. Strict adherence to the official scenario as it now stands would, in the view of diplomatic observers, be a recipe for more serious political problems in the future, with opposition parties currently expected to win control of Congress in 1986 and therefore



Katherine Young/Sven Simon
President João Baptista Figueiredo

able to block the next president's policies.

No less serious is Brazil's economic predicament. With General Figueiredo's lame-duck Government seemingly unable to stabilize the economy and the inauguration of a new president still 13 months away, the deepening recession could add to feelings of political frustration. The good news, a Brazilian banker remarked, is that Brazil does not have a tradition of resolving its political problems through violence. The bad news, he added, is that political vacuums in the past have given rise to demagogic figures.

Polish Church Gives Sanctuary to Some Ideas



The Rev. Mieczysław Nowak leading his congregation in prayer in Ursus last week.

Art for Politics' Sake Gets Sheltered Underground

By JOHN KIFNER

WARSAW — Since the crushing of Solidarity by martial law — the war, it is always called here — many of Poland's writers, actors, artists and other intellectuals have gone into "internal emigration." They refuse to produce their work for the official market. Instead, they are channeling their talents into an emerging underground cultural life, which ranges from art exhibits held out of briefcases to thriving clandestine publishing houses issuing popular books and scholarly journals.

At the center of this ferment in recent months has been the Roman Catholic Church. Priests and parishioners have quietly organized programs on "Christian culture" that include political lectures by writers, historians, sociologists and former Solidarity union activists, meetings that resemble the underground "flying universities" of the late 1970's in Poland.

In a Warsaw church, for example, workers from the Ruda Warszawa steel mill and the Nowotki electric motor factory recently listened to a psychiatrist speak on negotiating techniques and then asked him questions about the mistakes Solidarity made in its talks with the Government. Favorite themes besides Solidarity's rise and fall — it was outlawed under martial law on Dec. 13, 1981 — include the current economic crisis and the history of the 19th century occupation of Poland by Czarist Russia, with emphasis on the failed uprising of 1863. "We read patriotic poems" was the way one priest put it.

The Catholic Church in Poland has traditionally been the refuge of patriotism in hard times. Since martial law, many churches have been decked with symbols of the outlawed union, including, in St. Bridget's church near the Gdansk shipyards, a portrait of the revered icon of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa wearing a Solidarity T-shirt. A weekly cultural program in 15 churches in Wrocław last November appears to have touched off the underground movement by dissident intellectuals, which is spreading throughout the country. "It is an authentic explosion," said a former Solidarity leader from Silesia. "The cultural life has moved from the open, official level to the welcoming doors of the church." Added a Western diplomat: "They have an infrastructure in place, and it's spreading so fast we can't keep up with it."

The efforts have drawn the unwelcome attention of the authorities and received a blow with an order from the primate, Józef Cardinal Glemp, for the transfer of an outspoken Solidarity supporter, the Rev. Mieczysław Nowak, from his post in the working-class suburb of Ursus to a rural parish. Father Nowak was one of 69 activist priests who the Government last fall told the church it wanted silenced, and Cardinal Glemp's critics charged he was knuckling under.

In an unprecedented challenge to the primate's authority, thousands of parishioners last week held nightly protest masses, hooting down a representative from the church hierarchy who claimed the priest's transfer was a promotion. They planned further actions when Cardinal Glemp returns in early March from a trip to Latin America. In São Paulo, the primate was quoted as saying that some elements of the church had ties to Solidarity, "but I have chosen a more difficult and just approach, which is the pastoral path."

A year ago, Cardinal Glemp came under fire for urging actors who were boycotting Polish television to go back to work. His suggestion was largely ignored. Instead, actors have channeled their talents into the intellectual underground's "flying theaters," giving clandestine shows at small gatherings around Warsaw.

After finishing their performance the other night at the State Theater, for example, three actors rushed off to a private apartment, where about 50 people waited with chairs and mattresses spread out around an open area that would serve as a stage. The actors huddled together for a few moments, sipping glasses of wine, working themselves into a new mood. Then they stepped into the spotlights, improvised from reading lamps.

Skits From the Underground

Their performance was fast paced, professional and political. It was a revue of songs, skits and dramatic readings that shifted from ribald humor to chilling references to Poland's history of brutal occupations by foreign powers. The text ran from Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech announcing the imposition of martial law to the topical lyrics of the cabaret artist Jan Pietrzak and the self-exiled protest singer Jacek Kaczmarski, with plenty of spoofs on the official press and television.

In one sketch, Little Red Riding Hood is carrying underground leaflets in her basket when she is accosted by two club-wielding wolves dressed as riot police; squirrels and sparrows race ahead to Grandmother's house to warn her to hide the printing press.

In another, an old woman huddles in her apartment in fear because a Communist Party member has fallen to his death in a drunken stupor from an upstairs window. She is afraid it will be judged a murder and her neighbors will be rounded up and shot in retaliation, one of several references to the still searing memory of the Nazi occupation. Finally, she gathers her courage to write an anonymous letter to a newspaper advice column. "Don't worry, madam," came the reply. "This is a law-abiding country. Executions will be carried out only according to the following priorities: first, social parasites, second, pensioners, then students and schoolchildren." "Hey, that's not funny," a prominent lawyer in the audience shouted indignantly. The actors dissolved in laughter.

President Eanes Faces a Delicate Decision

Abortion Debate Rattles Lisbon's Ruling Coalition

By JOHN DARNTON

LISBON — The uneasy coalition of Socialists and Social Democrats that has governed Portugal for eight months has managed to hold together despite formidable internal strains. But now it has run into trouble over an unlooked-for issue — liberalization of Portugal's stringent antiabortion law.

The bill that finally emerged and was sent to President Antonio Ramalho Eanes this month is one of the mildest in Europe. Its Socialist sponsors call it, with some justification, not so much a legalization of abortion as a de-penalization in three carefully circumscribed cases — when the mother's life or mental health is threatened, when the fetus is malformed or when the pregnancy results from rape.

Its limited character did not head off a bitter protest from the powerful Roman Catholic Church. The church, which is especially influential in the rural backlands of the heavily populated north, where Socialists and Social Democrats draw much of their support, mounted a head-on campaign. Threats of excommunication thundered from pulpits. Antonio Cardinal Ribeiro, Patriarch of Lisbon, called for the punishment of politicians who voted for "what is intrinsically an evil."

"That deputies, elected by the Portuguese people to defend the most sacred rights and values, should be called on to discuss the destruction of the most sacred of all — human life — is a clear abuse of the mandate conferred on them," the Portuguese bishops declared. Other groups, such as the conservative Order of Doctors, also condemned the bill.

On the other side, liberals, reformers and feminists also mounted demonstrations. They pointed to polls indicating that, despite their religious beliefs, an overwhelming number privately favor liberalizing the statute on abortion that dates back to 1886; the penal code was revised last year to conform to the new democratic Constitution but abortion remained punishable by two- to eight-year sentences for mothers and doctors.

In a population of 10 million, with only 8 percent of the women observing family planning under a doctor's supervision, an estimated 100,000 illegal abortions take place each year, outnumbering live births. Feminist groups put the figure even higher, at 200,000. They cite the many women who turn up in hospital emergency wards, sometimes with life-threatening complications. "Hospitals in the major cities, Lisbon, Porto and elsewhere, get 50 a day — that's one every half-hour," said Zita Seabra, a Communist member of Parliament.

The cross-fire of sermons and manifestos, demonstrations and counterdemonstrations has strained the coalition. The Social Democrats, junior partners to Prime Minister Mario Soares's Socialists, were unhappy with the bill.

Carlos Mota Pinto, the party leader and Deputy Prime Minister, warned that approving it would "most seriously perturb" the coalition, which had been surprisingly united in pushing through a tough austerity program to deal with pressing economic difficulties.

But the Socialists, keeping a pledge to undertake a new "initiative" on abortion and fending off a more sweeping pro-abortion bill offered by the Communists, went ahead. After a grueling all-night debate, the bill was approved last month, 132 votes to 102. The irony of the vote was that the coalition split almost entirely along party lines; the law passed only because the Socialists were supported by their old enemies, the pro-Moscow Communists led by Alvaro Cunhal.

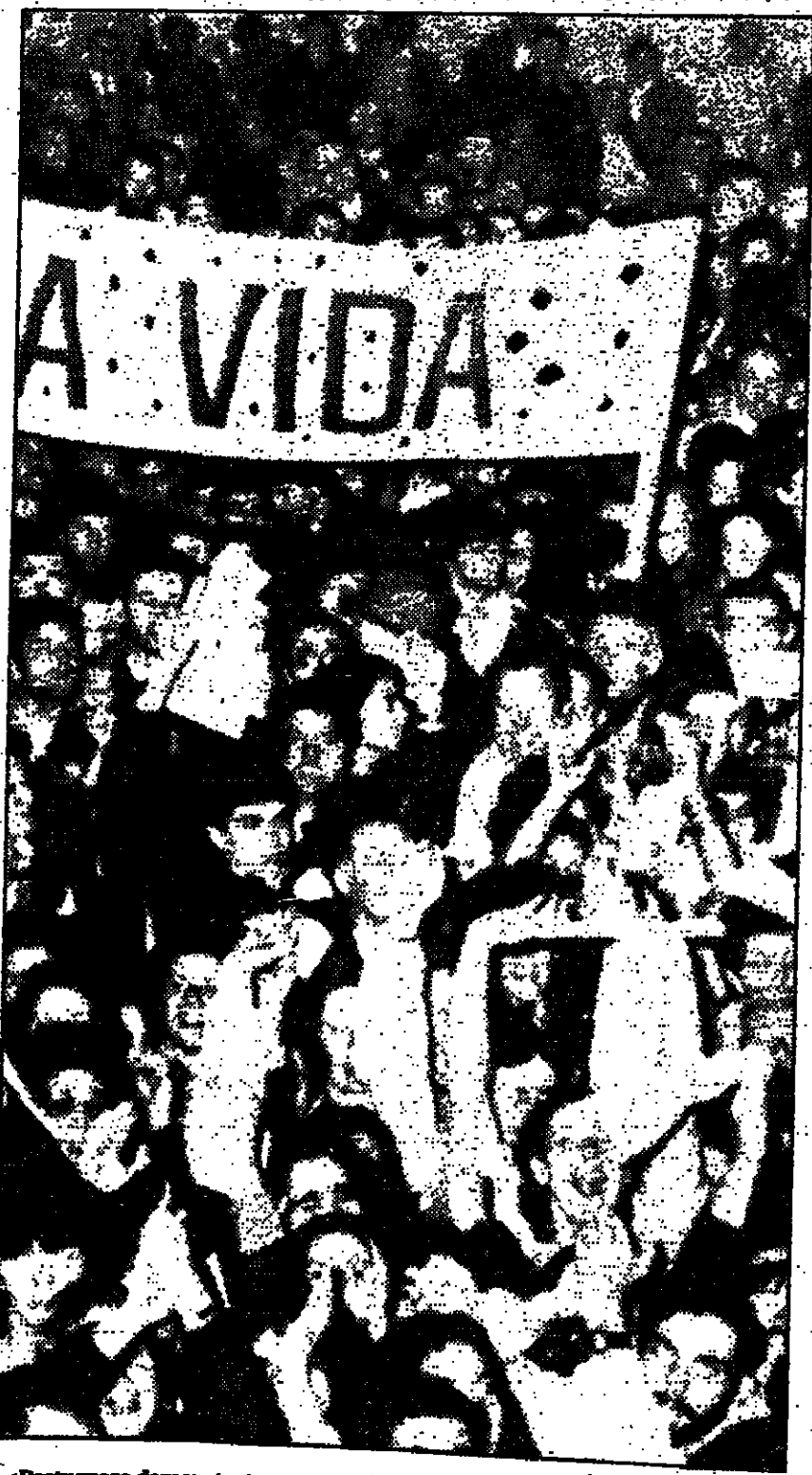
The next day, as church bells tolled in mourning in Braga and a right-wing newspaper carried the headline "Marxist-atheist block restores the death penalty," politicians surveyed the repercussions. It was, in a sense, a personal victory for Mr. Soares, who enhanced his declining reputation among left-wing voters

and is widely regarded as a contender for the presidency next year. But it was also a time of trial for the coalition, an indication that the gulf in ideology among its components presents the opposition parties with opportunities. "The objective of the Communist Party was to create difficulties for the Government," Mr. Soares said in an interview, suggesting that he expects them to try again. Conservative Social Democrats are angry; João Mota Amaral, a member of Opus Dei, the Roman Catholic lay organization, has appealed to President Eanes to veto the bill.

President's Choices

The coalition leaders met to patch things up. At the Cabinet meeting after the vote, it was announced that 1,000 workers would be laid off at the Setenave shipyards, a move some observers saw as an attempt to placate free enterprise-minded conservatives among the Social Democrats. The Social Democrats, a fractious party that casts a wide net, is facing an important party congress next month. The issue was also a reminder that the church, in a country where thousands make pilgrimages on their knees to the holy shrine at Fatima, is still a force to contend with. "This was the first conflict between church and state that we have had in Portugal in our lifetimes," said Helena Roseta, the Social Democratic Mayor of Cascais.

President Eanes must now decide whether to veto the bill, to send it to the Constitutional Tribunal for an opinion, to convene the Council of State for advice, or to let it become law. In an interview, he declined to give any indication of his thinking, other than complaining that the issue had not received a full public airing.



Portuguese demonstrators protesting liberalization of antiabortion law outside Parliament building in Lisbon last month.

How a Software Winner Went Sour

By Andrew Pollack

ONCE upon a time, when the personal computer industry was new, two young men met in a Cambridge, Mass., greasy spoon restaurant at 3 or 4 A.M. to choose a name for a new computer program they were about to bring to market. Comparing the program with a visible calculator, one of the participants recalls writing a possible name on a napkin — Visicalc.

The name became one of the best known and the product one of the best selling in the industry. It is frequently credited as having done more than any other product to create the personal computer boom. Fame and fortune descended upon the young men and their companies — one company that developed the product and one that marketed it.

But they have not lived happily ever after. Instead, the two companies — Visicorp and Software Arts — are locked in the most bitter lawsuit the young personal computer software industry has ever seen. The fight is over which company should control the rights to the program and which is responsible for its steep slip in sales over the last year.

And as the companies fight, Visicalc sales continue to plummet. Fewer than 5,700 units were sold last December, down from a peak of more than 39,000 just 11 months before. With a software shakeout expected in the coming year, the two companies, once so dominant, are in danger of becoming also-rans in the fast-growing, innovative industry.

On the surface, their lawsuit is merely a contract dispute. But the rise and fall of Visicalc involves more than that. It is the story of how software has changed from a clubby, cottage industry to a high-stakes, combative business.

For the software industry, there is a practical lesson in the failure of the two companies to get along. It points to the dangers inherent in having one company create a program and the other "publish" it. Yet much of the software industry is still based upon this very model of publisher and author.

And, of course, it is also a personal story of how the rapid success of three young men carried the seeds of its own collapse. Personality conflicts and huge egos contributed to the inability of the two companies to do business in both their interests, according to associates.

"It's like Solomon in the Bible telling the two women to split the baby in half," said Richard Melmon, a marketing consultant who once served as product marketing director for Visicorp. "Except in this case the two actually did it."

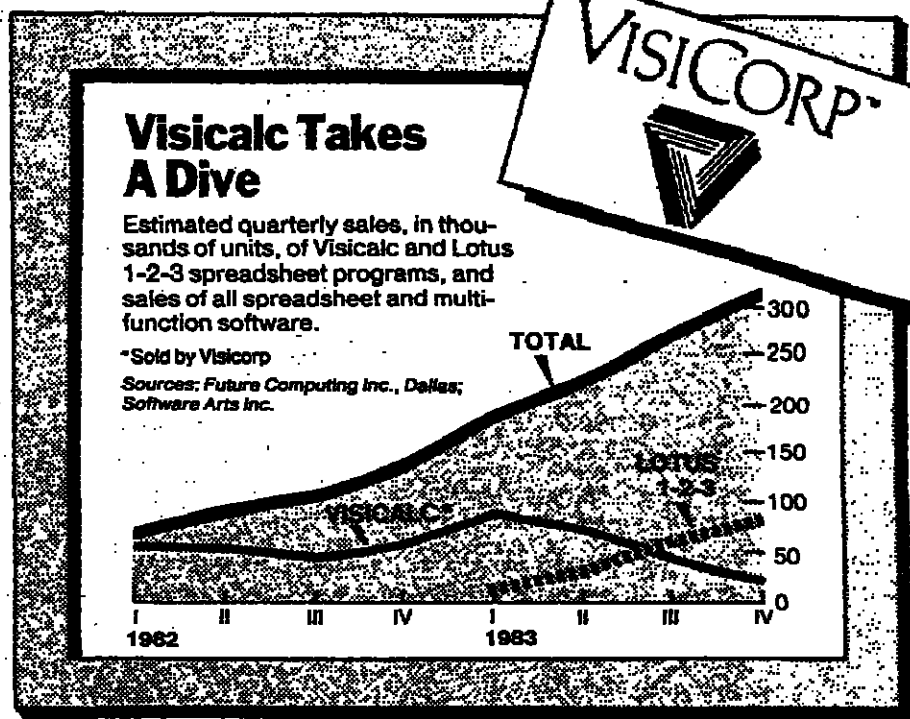
"I think what happened is that success overcame them," said another software industry executive familiar with the case, who asked not to be identified. "They got bogged down in who would take credit for it. What's kind of ironic is that by arguing over the golden goose, in essence it's gone away."

The story of Visicalc, by now almost an industry legend, begins in 1978, with Daniel Bricklin sitting in classes at the Harvard Business School watching professors manipulate rows and columns of figures to do financial analyses and forecasts. Mr. Bricklin noticed that if one number was changed, many other numbers had to be recalculated, with much wasted effort.

"During a lot of daydreaming, I wished I had this electronic blackboard," Mr. Bricklin recalled. Such an electronic blackboard would do all the calculations automatically when a number was changed. If one decided to assume an interest rate of 10 percent instead of 11 percent, the computer would recalculate all the values for expenses, revenues, profits and so on in the financial analysis.

That is the idea behind Visicalc, which became the first so-called spreadsheet program, a reference to the green ledger worksheets used by accountants. Mr. Bricklin was directed to a former Harvard Business School student, Daniel H. Fylstra, who was selling computer game programs out of his apartment in nearby Allston. Mr. Fylstra thought the program could be marketed.

Robert M. Frankston, a friend of Mr.



Bricklin's, came in to help develop the program with Mr. Bricklin. It was Mr. Frankston and Mr. Fylstra who met in the restaurant that morning and came up with the name Visicalc.

In April 1979 the parties signed a contract. Mr. Bricklin and Mr. Frankston, incorporated as Software Arts, would develop the program and would be responsible for developing future enhancements. Mr. Fylstra's company, then known as Personal Software, would undertake its best efforts to market the program and would pay Software Arts a royalty on each copy sold. The royalty was 35.7 percent of Personal Software's Visicalc revenues in most cases and 50 percent on certain bulk contracts.

Visicalc, introduced later that year, became a quick hit and changed the nature of the personal computer industry. Businessmen for the first time could see what to do with the computers, and the machines moved out of hobbyists' workshops and into offices. A sub-industry grew up around Visicalc as smaller software companies and users of the product devised ways to make Visicalc easier to use and more useful. And since Visicalc initially ran only on the Apple II computer, Apple surged to the lead in the computer industry.

More than 700,000 copies of Visicalc have been sold, making it the most popular program in history with the possible

The egos and lessons in the bitter battle over Visicalc.

exception of Micropro's Wordstar word-processing program. Software Arts, the developer, has received more than \$22 million in royalty payments. Mr. Fylstra, the marketer, changed the name of his company to Visicorp and started marketing an entire family of Visi products. Even his Mazda RX-7 sports car bears the license "Visicalc."

Such success, of course, lured competition. More than 50 spreadsheet programs — dubbed Visicalones and Calcalks — came to market, threatening Visicalc's position.

One person watching the changes was a Visicorp employee named Mitchell Kapur, who had written two programs for the company — Visiplot and Visitrend. In late 1981, Mr. Kapur recalled, he arranged to have Visicorp buy him out for \$1.2 million. Part of the agreement was that he could not compete with Visicorp in the future, with one exception — a product he described in a one-page document attached to the buyout agreement.

It is not clear whether Visicorp paid much attention to that document, but

perhaps it should have. Mr. Kapur used his \$1.2 million to form the Lotus Development Corporation and develop the product — 1-2-3 — that has done more than any product to knock out Visicalc.

Looking back, it is clear that strains between Visicorp and Software Arts existed from the start.

Mr. Fylstra very quickly moved his company to California's Silicon Valley, which he considered the center of the personal computer industry. He removed himself from day-to-day operations, brought in more experienced managers, dressed in three-piece suits and sought venture capital investors to expand the company.

Mr. Bricklin and Mr. Frankston, by contrast, stayed in the Boston area, dressed in flannel shirts and kept their company closely held.

Bigger than the clash of cultures, however, was the clash of egos. Mr. Fylstra's company became closely associated in the public mind with Visicalc, especially after changing its name to Visicorp early in 1982. Software Arts complained that its name was not prominently displayed on the product. "We wanted credit," Mr. Frankston said recently.

Visicorp, for its part, began complaining that Software Arts was not improving Visicalc to keep the product competitive. Software Arts complained that Visicorp was trying to reduce its royalties. Various solutions were suggested, including a merger. But nothing came to pass. Positions hardened and negotiations became more difficult. Edward Esber, a former Visicorp marketing vice president, recalled that in order to get anything accomplished, negotiators tried to keep both sets of founders from face-to-face confrontations.

Mr. Kapur's Lotus 1-2-3 was announced late in 1982. In addition to manipulating rows and columns of numbers, 1-2-3 could store data and draw graphs, things Visicalc could not do.

In September, Visicorp sued Software Arts for \$80 million in damages, claiming that Software Arts was in some cases more than a year late in delivering advanced versions of Visicalc, particularly the version for the popular I.B.M. personal computer, the market in which 1-2-3 was strongest. The version for the Digital Equipment Corporation Professional 350 was so late that Digital canceled its agreement to market the product.

Visicorp said that instead of updating Visicalc, Software Arts had diverted its resources to developing a new product, TKISolver, which Software Arts is marketing on its own.

Software Arts countersued, arguing that Visicorp had not marketed Visicalc using its best efforts and was instead putting its attention on Visi-on Calc, a new program that Visicorp developed itself. Software Arts claimed that Visi-on Calc was an extension of Visicalc and that it should receive royalties on its sale and on the sale of Visi-on, a related program.

Earlier this month, Software Arts got more aggressive. According to papers filed by Visicorp, Software Arts called the other company to a meeting in Chicago, ostensibly to discuss a settlement. Instead, Software Arts announced it was terminating the contract and would market Visicalc on its own.

Visicorp tried but failed to get a temporary restraining order, and last week, Software Arts announced that it would start selling an advanced version of Visicalc for the I.B.M. computer at \$100, far below the existing Visicalc price of \$250. Visicorp says it will continue selling Visicalc, so consumers may find very similar versions of the same program as they shop for software. The suit is still pending in United States District Court in Boston.

Both companies are respected as pioneers in the industry, and their competitors are reluctant to take sides publicly. Many say merely that the original contract was written when there were no signposts as to how the industry would develop and that it has since become obsolete.

For example, the high royalty that was to be paid to Software Arts cramped Visicorp's ability to bear the high marketing expenses, some say. Nowadays, software writers get royalties of only 5 to 20 percent, not 37.5 percent as Software Arts gets.

With Visicalc sales declining, both companies face serious challenges. Despite efforts to diversify, Visicorp, now based in San Jose, Calif., still depended on Visicalc for 58 percent of its revenues in 1983, according to court documents.

Pressure has mounted on the California company. One source said the privately held company lost \$2 million to \$3 million in 1983 on sales of \$42 million to \$43 million because of declining Visicalc sales and heavy expenses to develop Visi-on. That compares with a profit of \$2.4 million on sales of \$33.7 million in 1982.

Visicorp's future now rests mainly on its new Visi-on system, a program that breaks the computer screen into windows with a different task appearing in each window. Visicorp is also selling a set of programs to run in the windows, including Visi-on Calc, a spreadsheet program, as well as a graph-drawing program and a word-processing program.

So far, Visi-on is off to a slow start. After announcing it late in 1982, Visicorp was several months late in getting it to market. It recently cut the price of the Visi-on applications manager sharply to stimulate sales. Some 5,000 Visi-on Calc programs were shipped by the end of January, according to a Visicorp affidavit.

Software Arts faces equally great challenges. It has much less marketing experience than Visicorp. It is also far smaller, with only about \$12 million in 1983 revenues.

Software Arts has moved to change what it concedes is its image as a bunch of ivory tower programmers. Mr. Bricklin and Mr. Frankston have removed themselves from many executive responsibilities. They have recruited Julian Lange, a former Harvard Business School assistant professor, as chief executive.

But industry analysts are skeptical, pointing to the fate of the first product the company marketed on its own. That was TKISolver, a program that does for engineers what Visicalc does for financial analysts. TKISolver was highly praised as a product that carved new ground. But it has done only moderately well.

Meanwhile, as the fighting goes on, Visicalc becomes less and less worth fighting over as it becomes less and less competitive. With an upgrade and powerful marketing, it could be salvaged, analysts say, but only if the fighting stops. But with both Visicorp and Software Arts trying to market Visicalc, dealers and distributors might shy away from the product, afraid to get involved in litigation.

Said John McMullen, a computer consultant: "The worst thing that can happen to any of them is that distributors back off and Visicalc as a product dies."

The Economy

Prospects

Gold, Back to Normal

While gold bugs have always fed on adversity, most of their meals in the last few years have been at their own expense. The reason: In recent times the metal has failed, time and again, to respond to the sort of negative political and economic developments that the bullion market traditionally thrived on.

But now it seems that the pendulum of market sentiment has swung back again. For example, the metal,

which a year ago traded at more than \$500 an ounce and which had fallen to just below \$370 at year-end, has risen in recent weeks, and last week was hovering around \$400.

Analysts have attributed the turnaround to heightened fears about inflation and the worsening Middle East situation — the very kinds of news developments that the bullion market had been ignoring until only a few weeks ago.

"What we are seeing is a basic change in gold market psychology, one that is peculiar to this trade," says Jeffrey A. Nichols, precious metals research director at Goldman, Sachs & Company. "Given the nature of the market, sentiment could just as easily reverse itself overnight."

So does the recent price rise portend a rosy outlook for bullion prices? "Investors in any market believe what they want to believe," Mr. Nichols says.

A Selloff by Foreigners

Many analysts have cited selling by foreign investors as a major factor in the stock market's seven-week decline. Just how major is debatable. However, Nicolas Walker, who heads the international division at Prudential-Bache Securities, notes that "foreign institutions were net sellers in December and January, but have mainly been on the sidelines this month." Many foreign portfolio managers, he says, believe the dollar will drop, "and they lightened their positions here as a result."

As in 1983, Mr. Walker says, Japanese securities in general are favored by Europeans. Among domestic issues, foreign investors still like the blue chips, defense and especially high-technology issues and familiar names like McDonald's, he says.

"Europeans are growth oriented," Mr. Walker adds. "When they want dividend yields they choose Eurobonds. They think that if a stock pays a high dividend it isn't growth oriented, but rather showing signs of maturity. Besides, foreigners pay a United States withholding tax on dividends of between 15 and 30 percent."

Battered Thrift Units

One of the worst-battered stock groups in the recent market retreat has been savings and loan issues. Since the decline began, savings and loan stocks collectively have tumbled 25 percent, compared with a decline of about 10 percent in the Dow Jones industrial average and 8 percent in the Standard & Poor's 500 stock index.

Thomas D. Klingenstein, who monitors this industry for Wertheim & Company, says that neither interest rates nor regulatory factors are to blame. He looks instead at "those who sold the stocks." The average investor, he says, "wasn't too involved" with the savings industry; the institutions were. And the institutions had large paper profits on their savings and loan stocks, which they may have cashed in to protect their overall performance records during the recent market decline.

There were also lots of profits to take, Mr. Klingenstein says. Between August 1982, when the market took off, and November 1983, when the advance seemed to falter, S & L stocks soared by as much as 300 percent.

Facelifts for the Home

Because both the nation's population and its housing stock are aging, sales of home-improvement products are expected to remain the best growth area in retailing, says Frederick D. Rackmill, a director of Frost & Sullivan Inc., a market research organization.

"This year, retail sales of hardware, lumber and other building materials are expected to come to \$70.6 billion, up from \$68.2 billion in 1983," Mr. Rackmill says, citing a recent Frost & Sullivan study. "Excluding the inflation factor, we see sales of home improvement products rising 77 percent from 1984 to 1990."

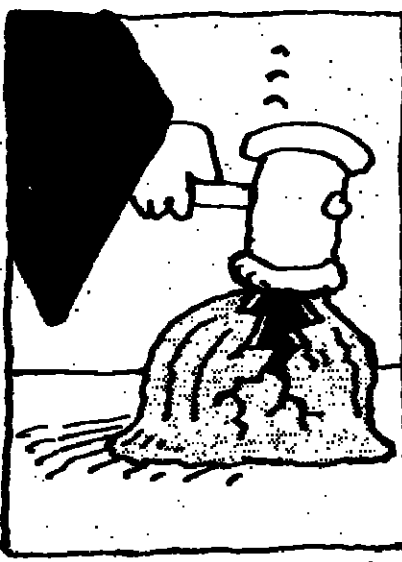
WEEK IN BUSINESS

Bankruptcy Ruling: Bad News for Labor

The Supreme Court dealt a blow to organized labor when it ruled unanimously that a bankruptcy judge can free a company from its labor contract obligations if the company can show the contracts are substantial "burdens" to its long-term recovery. Organized labor had sought to require companies to prove they were in imminent danger of failure before contracts could be broken. In a more divided opinion, the court ruled 5-to-4 that once a company has filed a bankruptcy petition, it can unilaterally end all labor contracts, while it is waiting for the court's ultimate permission. The rulings involved the Bilco Manufacturing Company of New Jersey and its 1980 bankruptcy filing, yet it supported actions by the Wilson Food Corporation, Braniff Airways and Continental Air Lines, which filed for Chapter 11 reorganization last year and unilaterally ended all contracts with their unions.

The Court also gave a victory to the I.R.S. in its long-running battle over interest-free loans made by one family member to another. The court ruled that in such a loan, any forfeited interest on the part of the lender constitutes a "gift" to the recipient and is subject to Federal gift taxes.

The Budget Battle (Continued) It was never assumed that the new Congressional Budget Director, Rudolph



G. Penner, would go easy on the Reagan deficit. In fact, in the budget office's first major analysis of President Reagan's 1985 budget, Mr. Penner and his staff warned that the deficits were not about to shrink in the coming years as the Administration has forecast. The budget office predicted a \$192 billion deficit in 1985, \$12 billion higher than the Administration's forecast, and a \$211 billion shortfall in 1986, compared with the Administration's \$177 billion prediction. Meanwhile, Congressional tax-writing committees were considering

a Senate Republican proposal that would slash the growth in the President's military spending authority.

Inflation fears grew, as rising food prices lifted the January Consumer Price Index six-tenths of one percent. The summer's drought and the harsh winter weather were blamed for pushing fruit, vegetable and grocery store prices higher than during any one month in several years. Moreover, economists have worried that the manifest economic strength in January could reignite more than just food prices.

After six losing weeks and after hitting a 10-month low, the stock market finished higher, as the Dow Jones industrial average rose more than 16 points to 1,165.10. A rally, which many described as bargain hunting and technical, began Thursday and ended in a 30.47-point gain on Friday. But interest rates continued up for most of the week — perhaps the single greatest concern of the stock market — despite a rally on Friday, set off by a lower-than-expected gain in the money supply. The Fed said M-1 rose \$300 million in the latest reporting week.

Timex became the third company to exit from the home computer business, as it announced it would no longer sell its Timex-Sinclair comput-

er, which cost less than \$100. The company reportedly halted production of the computers last year as sales dried up to almost nothing. Texas Instruments was the first company to leave the home computer market last summer, followed by Mattel, which announced earlier this month that it had sold its home computer and video game operations to an investor group headed by a Mattel executive.

Chrysler and American Motors continued the profit trend in the auto industry. Chrysler had profits of \$118.3 million for the fourth quarter of 1983 and a record \$700.9 million for the year, compared with a \$86.1 million loss in the 1982 fourth quarter and earnings of \$170.1 million for all of 1982, including a \$239 million extraordinary gain. A.M.C., as expected, reported its first profitable quarter in almost four years — \$7.4 million — while it held its yearly loss to \$146.7 million. Those results brought total auto industry profits for 1983 to a record \$6.15 billion.

And domestic car sales continued strong, posting a 73.3 percent jump in the middle February period. The annual selling rate hit 9.2 million cars, up 64.3 percent from a 5.6 million rate in the 1983 period.

Nathaniel C. Nash

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED FEBRUARY 24, 1984				
(Consolidated)	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Company				
Gulf Cp	9,688,200	82 1/2	+ 8 1/2	
AT&T	7,763,500	17 1/2	+ 3/4	
Mesa Pt	5,767,500	17 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
Baxt Tr	4,626,500	18 1/2	- 1 1/2	
For M	4,375,200	37 1/2	+ 1/2	
IBM	4,298,500	111 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
Chrysl	3,833,800	28 1/2	+ 1/2	
Gen El	3,216,900	53 1/2	+ 1	
Exxon	3,054,700	38 1/2	+ 1/2	
Pan Am	3,008,100	7 1/2	+ 1/2	
GTE	3,005,300	37 1/2	+ 1/2	
G Mot	2,920,500	68 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
Phil Pet	2,883,300	42 1/2	+ 1/2	
N Saml	2,765,500	1 1/2	+ 1/2	
Tex Inv	2,489,000	23 1/2	+ 1/2	
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	178.2	171.7	178.2	+2.67
20 Transp	137.6	130.7	137.6	+1.88
40 Util	65.2	63.6	64.5	-0.60
40 Financial	17.2	16.5	17.0	-0.19
500 Stocks	157.5	152.1	157.5	+1.77
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1167.0	1114.9	1165.1	+16.23
20 Transp	513.2	482.7	510.8	+8.58
15 Util	125.6	122.3	125.0	+0.99
65 Comb	457.2	436.1	455.9	+6.04
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED FEB. 24, 1984				
(Consolidated)	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Company				
DorGas	1,917,300	21 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
EchoB	1,134,700	8 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
WangB	947,300	28 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
DomeP	612,900	3 1/2	- 5 1/2	
TIE	492,600	19 1/2	+ 1/2	
KeyPh	482,700	14 1/2	+ 1/2	
NtPatnt	444,300	22 1/2	+ 1/2	
GHCDg	424,800	13 1/2	+ 1/2	
BargB	390,700	22 1/2	- 1/2	
BmFB	275,000	28 1/2	- 1/2	
MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Advances	982	820		
Declines	977	1,169		
Total Issues	2,213	2,240		
New Highs	30	26		
New Lows	252	225		
VOLUME (P.M. New York Close)				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	384,814,130	3,865,727,598		
Same Per. 1983	382,383,600	3,389,482,348		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
	High	Low	Last	Change
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	105.8	102.3	105.8	+1.44
Transp	85.8	81.6	85.8	+1.28
Util	44.9	43.9	44.7	-0.18
Finance	88.9	86.2	88.3	-0.62
Composite	90.4	87.6	90.4	+0.90
VOLUME (P.M. New York Close)				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	23,664,895	259,081,325		
Same Per. 1983	25,104,245	342,022,050		

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Deficit Politics

If all the proposals for cutting the Federal deficit were laid end-to-end, the revenue surplus might confound even the most ardent budget-balancers. But the real risk in the current rush to do something is that the issue will be drowned in campaign politics, with no one in power examining what really needs to be done.

After last year's stalemate, President Reagan prepared a budget that just avoided the subject; he said it couldn't be seriously discussed in an election year. But at the last minute, perceiving a weak fiscal flank, the President invited Congress to "negotiate" for a three-year, \$100 billion "down payment" on the deficit.

Negotiations have begun, but both sides serve appearance more than substance — to avoid blame for unpleasant action, or inaction. Meanwhile, the House and Senate tax committees have bolted off in their own directions. What is missing, besides Presidential leadership, is a meaningful objective. How can anyone intelligently plan spending cuts and tax increases for three years without deciding how much deficit-cutting the economy requires?

The President's "down payment" is deceptive and inadequate. Much of the \$100 billion saving is already built into his budget; without that flimflam, the deficit to be cut would be even larger. And if Congress were to do his bidding, it would not in fact save \$100 billion from his budget.

Given the view of the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office that deficits in this decade will grow, not decline as the Administration predicts, the next three years should yield at least \$150 billion in reductions. Without such a clear signal from Gov-

ernment, inflationary expectations will grow, the markets will be depressed, interest rates will hang high and the recovery will falter.

Where to find \$150 billion? Mr. Reagan, again mistakenly, says look at "less contentious" items. He's back to his campaign speech about waste and fraud. But spending cuts and tax increases that aren't contentious won't suffice. The only impressive gains will be in contentious areas like defense, middle-class "entitlements" and higher taxes.

On defense: A first step could be reducing the Administration's proposed 13 percent increase by at least half, or \$25 billion, not just stretching out the buildup, as House Democrats suggest. Military outlays already exceed past estimates. Every new appropriation adds to this future burden.

On entitlements: As a practical matter, last year's Social Security adjustments rule out further changes now. The next targets should be health programs and Federal pensions. Both need to be reformed and Federal pensions need to be reformed. Soaring farm subsidies also need weeding.

On taxes: Congress is looking to raise \$50 billion over three years. Besides eliminating unintended tax breaks and postponing cuts in cigarette and telephone excises, it should enact a minimum corporate income tax and a gasoline tax. Mr. Reagan's stubborn opposition puts great responsibility and election-year risk on Congressional Republicans as well as Democrats.

The deficits won't be tamed until a coalition can overwhelm the defenders of every last budget item. But spending cuts alone won't suffice. The siren song of waiting till after election is an insult to voters and a great disservice to the economy.

The Boy in the Bubble

David, the boy in the bubble; died last week from complications of an attempt to give him the immune defenses he had lacked since birth. All but the last 15 days of his 12 years were spent confined within plastic. The effort to save him was heroic; was it worthwhile?

David and his family could be the only true judges, but their hopes, though now dashed, had a tangible basis. There was always a chance of finding a donor whose cells were compatible enough for a bone marrow transplant. Even without such a donor, the decade's advances in understanding the basis of immunity meant that development of a novel treatment was never beyond possibility.

A butterfly enjoys only a few days on the wing after a winter encased in its pupa. But David's life in his cocoon was far from fallow. He played music,

took part in school by telephone and was a celebrity in Houston, which carefully followed his rites of passage. When a new experimental treatment became available, David's family and physicians decided, with his understanding and consent, that the risks were worth taking.

Last October David was inoculated with two ounces of his sister's marrow cells, especially treated to reduce their incompatibility. He passed the expected danger period, but this month complications developed. Removed from his bubble for treatment, he finally reached the world of human warmth and touch.

Since he died on a frontier of medicine, the diagnosis of David's death may help in treating other victims of a rare genetic disease. The bubble of hope burst, but was worth its making.

Dragons of Winter

A friend in the Arctic writes that scientists now believe that the hollow core of a polar bear's individual hairs acts as a kind of solar cell, transmitting the sun's energy into the bear's hide. When he suns himself on an ice floe, he may feel as warm as a turtle on a log in Georgia.

Our friend is a good deal colder this dark winter than either, but for his pleasure the Eskimos have taught him to whistle at the northern lights to bring them closer. It works — apparently at 50-below his shivering breath refracts and magnifies the light. Even the stars behind the ivory bands of aurora borealis swing nearer, like diamonds on a white bracelet, and the moon hangs close and low.

Clouds swirl muscally in north Alaska, and the wilderness is full of personifications. The frigid snow squeals underfoot as if it were alive, the ice on the rivers rumbles, and in the "drunken forest," where trees struggle to root themselves in spite of the permafrost, wood cracks like a gunshot in a cold snap.

In the May whaling season, the Eskimos' first ceremony after a successful hunt is to return the forehead, and therefore the spirit, of the whale to the ocean so that other bowhead whales will consent

to return the next spring to be hunted. Inland Eskimo speak of "the Little People," who are gnomesized but possess the strength of many humans and, though not entirely benign, will sometimes help a desperate traveler. On the upper Yukon River, the Kutichin Indians also speak of "the Little People," and of "Brush Man" — a larger being like a Bigfoot, a Sasquatch, a Himalayan yeti or various South American incarnations, and whom the Koyukon Indians 500 miles downriver call "Woods Man," perhaps because their trees are bigger.

Science hasn't grappled satisfactorily with the worldwide folk phenomenon of Little People and Bigfoot figures (in northern New England Bigfoot was once called "Old Slipperskin"). And our friend, wintering in the still unreconstructed North, talking with people to whom whales and bears are spirits as well as flesh, who have seen living gnomes on the tundra and living giants in the forests, was reminded of Kenneth Grahame's opinion that "the dragon is a more enduring animal than a pterodactyl. I have never yet met anyone who really believed in a pterodactyl, but every honest person believes in dragons — down in the back kitchen of his consciousness."

Topics

Down and Up in the Bronx

Foul Diplomacy

An outfit called Jewish Direct Action denies responsibility for Thursday's bombing of a Soviet diplomatic compound in the Bronx. But the organization's chairman, Chaim Vancier, cut the ground from his denial with an outrageous statement: "We're sympathetic to this type of action, though we are law-abiding and nonviolent." Moreover, he says, Jewish Direct Action will go ahead with plans to harass Soviet diplomats until Soviet Jews are permitted to emigrate.

Mr. Vancier's gall matches his ignorance. Does he think the same methods are justified when used by Palestinians to terrorize Israel? Or is the laudable in New York contemptible in Jerusalem?

Those who threw the Bronx bombs

—mercifully, no one was hurt — said they did so to help Anatoly Shcharansky, a Soviet Jew imprisoned since 1978 on spurious espionage charges. Nothing is less likely to end Mr. Shcharansky's ordeal than bombing Soviet compounds. With friends like that, he has no need of enemies.

Good Deal

New one-family homes in Charlotte Garden, formerly a tract of South Bronx devastation. A busy industrial park just below the Cross Bronx Expressway. A job training program for home relief clients. An air of cooperative optimism in the Bronx. These are all partly the work of the South Bronx Development Organization, headed by a redoubtable city planner, Edward Logue.

Forty percent of his group's support, about \$1 million a year, has come from the discretionary funds of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Suddenly the money is in trouble. Secretary Samuel Pierce's staff has announced that before renewing the development organization's grant for another year, it will listen to competing proposals from any community group in the Bronx.

It's a gratuitous decision. Mr. Logue's group is a good deal for Washington as well as the Bronx; it doesn't deserve to be discouraged. It's been getting things done, even at the price of squashing an occasional toe, or persuading residents to light peace pipes on unfriendly turf. The Administration ought not to let the South Bronx Development Organization down.

Letters

Old Men at the Soviet Helm: Present, Past, Future

To the Editor:

As Konstantin U. Chernenko moves into the position of General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party at the age of 72, analysts continue to ask: When will the younger generation seize the reins of power?

The answer is probably never, for there are elements in the Soviet pattern of power that make gerontocracy its natural form.

Mr. Chernenko is not a dictator but a senior oligarch in a collective leadership, a first among equals. As the nominal leader, however, he is in the best position to manipulate affairs to become an actual dictator, as Stalin did in the 1920's and Khrushchev attempted to do in the 1953-64 period. Stalin strengthened his dictatorship by physically exterminating everyone with whom he shared power in Lenin's Politburo. The milder Khrushchev simply demoted the old Stalinists around him to innocuous posts in the provinces or abroad.

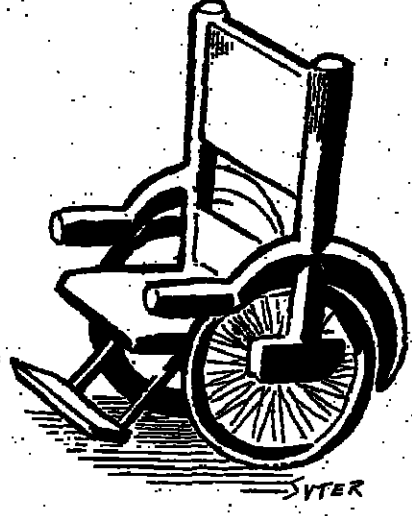
The emergence of a dictator, then, means early retirement for most Politburo members out of the centers of power, to which they have devoted their lives. An easy way to foreclose this possibility is to appoint general secretaries who are aged and preferably ailing and who do not have the physical vigor to become genuine dictators.

This is why Leonid I. Brezhnev managed to hang on so long through his last, debilitated years. This is why Mr. Chernenko's ailments actually made him a better candidate for the job.

The under-60 generation will never assume power because each new generation of leadership is over 60 by the time it gets there. The 11 new voting members of the Politburo of the last decade averaged 63 at the time of their appointment. Mikhail S. Gorbachev, at 52, was frequently mentioned as the groomed successor to the ailing Yuri V. Andropov. Note, however, that he was given responsibility for Soviet agriculture, a perennial eco-

nomic quagmire, providing a pretext for his quick removal if he pushed for the top while still vigorous.

Waiting for the younger generation to take over in the Soviet Union is



like "Waiting for Godot," or better, waiting for true Communism to come rolling into Moscow over the Lenin Hills.
RICHARD J. WILLEY
Professor of Political Science
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Feb. 16, 1984

The People's Choice

To the Editor:

Comparison with the Brezhnev rule was the leitmotif of Roy Medvedev's epitaph for Andropov (Op-Ed Feb. 15). This comparison must be augmented lest your readers get a rather unbalanced picture of the recent Soviet past.

Within the limited space afforded by the Soviet polity, the two leaders differed profoundly in the ways they addressed a number of fundamental problems faced by the country's political, economic and cultural institutions. It is far from clear whether Andropov's approach was more preferable to the Soviet people,

As Humans Multiply to the Brink of Extinction

To the Editor:

I couldn't help comparing John Corry's comments on the TV documentary "China's Only Child" (Feb. 14) with the book I am reading by Farley Mowat, "Never Cry Wolf."

To Mr. Corry, it is "awesome" to think of a nation that brings the power of persuasion against a woman's right to conceive. Awesome may not be the right word. Naturalists have observed birth-control behavior in the wild when overpopulation threatens starvation. Mr. Mowat tells us the following of the wolf population:

"Thus it happens that when food species are abundant (or the wolf population is scanty) bitches give birth to large litters — sometimes as

many as eight pups. But if the wolves are too numerous, or food is scarce, the number of pups in a litter may fall to as few as one or two. This is also true of other arctic animals, such as rough-legged hawks. In a year when the small mammal population is high, rough-legs will lay five or six eggs in a clutch; but when mice and lemmings are scarce, they may lay a single egg or they may not breed at all."

Has Homo sapiens also been blessed with an innate survival strategy? Perhaps only now, with overpopulation a genuine threat, are we witnessing behavior whose results strongly resemble those achieved by our animal friends.

NANCY C. BRENNAN
New York, Feb. 15, 1984

Unborn Children's Whole Range of Sensation

To the Editor:

As a practicing obstetrician-gynecologist and a member of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, I am dismayed that Dr. Ervin E. Nichols, a representative of the college, has challenged President Reagan's assertion that the unborn child feels pain when his or her life is being snuffed out by abortion (news story Jan. 31).

Electrical brain waves have been shown to be functioning as early as 40 days (H. Hamlin, "Life or Death by E.E.G.," J.A.M.A., Oct. 12, 1964). The nervous system is intact and functioning in a "total pattern response" by

the sixth week of intrauterine life (Leslie B. Arey, "Developmental Anatomy" 6th Ed., W. B. Saunders Co., 1964). The father of modern fetology, Dr. William Wiley, who has shown that "fetal comfort determines fetal position," notes: "He is responsive to pain and touch and cold and sound and light. He drinks his amniotic fluid, more if it is artificially sweetened, less if it is given an unpleasant taste. He gets hiccups and sucks his thumb." ("Liberal Studies," "A Case Against Abortion," Whitcombe & Tombs, Ltd., 1971).

WILLIAM J. HOGAN, M.D.
Silver Spring, Md., Feb. 1, 1984

Civil Rights Commission Majority vs. a National Consensus

To the Editor:

Nobody likes racial or sexual quotas, including us, but neither do we like the over 300 years of discrimination against women and minorities that led to the approval of such quotas for qualified persons in about 4 percent of the affirmative action cases in which prior discrimination has been proven or admitted. Our colleague Morris Abram obscures the issue in his letter of Feb. 19 ("The 'Palpable Bias in Quotas'").

We agree with Justice Powell (in Bakke) and Morris Abram that in the absence of prior race discrimination the constitutional "guarantee of equal protection cannot mean one thing when applied to one individual and something else when applied to a person of another color."

We also agree with Justice Powell, however, and the other four Justices, who made up the controlling majority in the same case, on this issue, that "when appropriate findings [of discrimination] have been made by judicial, legislative, or administrative bodies with competence to act in this area," government may take race, and sex for that matter, into account to remedy past discrimination. More important, the Supreme Court recently refused to review the Detroit police case decision, which left standing a race-conscious remedy for prior discrimination. The Court has declined to review dozens of similar decisions dating back to the early 1970's.

Beyond the issue of whether or not one likes a Supreme Court decision, Mr. Abram's apparent misunderstanding of what it means for a commission to be a fact-finding agency is more disturbing.

Fact-finding means, as it has meant under our still applicable statute for almost 27 years, not reliance on what commissioners do or do not know when they are appointed. It means public hearings, field investigations and research conducted by professionally competent staff, along with the commissioners, on the precise facts of every issue that comes before the commission.

The commission's former staff directors [letter Feb. 15] are correct: If our new colleagues continue on the path of speaking first and investigating later, respect can be garnered only from those who already feel comfortable with the conclusions and care less about their validity or accord with reality.

Our colleagues spend much time and energy discussing quotas, but any valid assessment of whether the commission remains the nation's conscience on civil rights must be based on the totality of decisions made at the commission's Jan. 16 meeting. The new majority first decided that the commission's jurisdiction

would not permit analysis of Federal budgetary resources in social policy areas such as educational aid designed to overcome the effect of discrimination.

However, they then decided the commission's jurisdiction not only permitted but made a matter of great urgency a study that would show minority problems are not due to discrimination but to social policy deficits such as lack of education. In other words, minority problems can be studied so long as they are defined as not the result of discrimination and as long as they do not require the use of Federal budgetary resources for their solution.

In the aftermath of the commission's meeting, we worried that transparent attempts to erode a national consensus for civil rights progress for women and minorities might succeed. But we note with optimism that the public seems to understand the issues and that responsible individuals remain willing to express support for real equal opportunity in our society.

BLANDINA CARDENAS RAMIREZ
MARY FRANCES BERRY
Commissioners
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, Feb. 22, 1984



The New York Times Company

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as Mr. Medvedev seems to think.

In the absence of a free press and effective legislative supervision of the executive power, how does one control political and economic elites? What other means were tried by Brezhnev, often unsuccessfully, the Stalinist methods were a taboo. Andropov's answer was mass demotions, dismissals, secret trials and executions.

In the absence of viable material incentives, how does one increase productivity? The essence of the state-labor relations in the Soviet Union is nicely captured by a popular adage: "They pretend they pay us; we pretend we work."

While the Brezhnev period actually saw a dramatic increase in real payments, which resulted in an unprecedented rise in the standard of living, the leader abided by this unwritten social contract and, again, decidedly refused to rely on terror. Andropov responded with pogrom-like raids on bath houses, stores, cinemas and restaurants in search of "shirkers," with severe penalties for those late for work and, to crown it all, with his own innovation — the infamous "black boxes" for anonymous denunciations.

In the absence of a free marketplace of ideas, how does one deal with the invincible creative impulse and critical probing of intelligentsia, the unquenchable thirst for knowledge of the world outside the sealed borders?

Brezhnev tried to strike a delicate balance between those yearnings and the systemic instability and paranoia of a heavily authoritarian regime. Cultural life was allowed to reach the levels of diversity and heterodoxy unknown in the country since the 1920's — provided artists acted with discretion, steered clear of direct political challenge and didn't ask for too much too soon. The multidimensional opening to the West was wider than at any time in Soviet history.

Andropov's stewardship coincided with the advent of a virtual ice age in culture, with anti-Western propaganda reminiscent in its intensity and crudity of the early 1950's under Stalin, and a comprehensive crackdown on foreign contacts of any sort. (Your readers may recall that the latest of the relevant decrees, the one on the penalty "for divulging work-related information to foreigners," is the identical twin of the one around which Solzhenitsyn's "First Circle" is plotted.) The Andropov-Brezhnev counterposition fits the notorious dilemma of the Russian political tradition: Who is a better czar — a stern, ruthless ideologue dragging the country to the "glorious future" on a bloody rope, or a pragmatic, occasionally weak, not too bright or awe-inspiring autocrat? Ivan the Terrible or Alexander I? Peter the Great or Nicholas II? Andropov or Brezhnev?

For a Marxist historian, like Mr. Medvedev, the question is rhetorical: of course, an "objectively progressive" ruler is more desirable. For the ruled, the answer is far from clear-cut.

As to the indeed rampant corruption under Brezhnev, the greatest living Russian poet, Joseph Brodsky, supplies the illuminating stanza in his "Letter to a Friend in Rome":

You say that all the provincial governors are thieves.
Well, I prefer a thief to a bloodsucker.

Given this sorrowful choice, I think the majority of the Soviet people would agree.

LEON RABINOVICH
New York, Feb. 16, 1984
The writer is a junior fellow at Columbia University's W. Averell Harriman Institute for Study of the Soviet Union.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Preparing Soviet Talks

By Flora Lewis

PARIS, Feb. 25 — It isn't yet possible to know what direction the Russians will take under the transitional regime of Konstantin Chernenko, or what secret agreements have been made for the next succession.

The 52-year-old agricultural expert, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, a lad by Kremlin standards, does appear to have advanced to No. 2 in the Politburo, and may already have been promised the top job after Chernenko. Knowledgeable East Europeans say definite signs should emerge within the next couple of months.

Most important, however, is the indication that for the first time in six months or more, the Kremlin is again capable of new decisions. This comes from a Yugoslav who said flatly in January that Yuri Andropov was on his deathbed and hadn't been capable of active leadership since last fall.

Moscow was conducting an energetic campaign of disinformation at that time, claiming that Mr. Andropov was fully functioning but just

couldn't appear in public. Western officials swallowed it. But after Mr. Andropov died, the Kremlin admitted he had been mortally ill for a long time.

The Yugoslavs were right, and no doubt also right in saying that the Politburo had been in a hold pattern all that period, which included downing the Korean airliner, doing day-to-day business on the basis of previous decisions but unable to move to anything new. Breaking off nuclear talks with the U.S. at the start of Euromissile deployment had been prescribed long before and couldn't be changed when the moment came, according to this highly credible report.

But now, things are different. The Kremlin's main immediate task is to review badly deteriorated relations with the U.S. and decide what to do about them. This is a crucial time because the Russians will be setting their line for an extended period ahead, and they will base it in part on what they consider likely U.S.

policy for the next several years. As often happens, Moscow and Washington calendars are out of synch. Election year is the most uncertain time for predicting American attitudes, all the harder because analysts have to sort out campaign tactics from real positions. After all he has said, Moscow isn't likely to take President Ronald Reagan's newly amiable words at face value.

Therefore, it is in America's interest to send clear signals to the Russians before they have settled firmly on their own course. To have full effect, the message should reflect a

broad, unquestionable commitment to serious future negotiations.

After all, there isn't much choice for a sound American policy. The Soviet Union exists, and it is a superpower. We must deal with it to preserve peace, and to preserve liberty, we must resist its inevitable attempt to expand its dominion.

Coexistence can't mean simply tending one's own garden and ignoring the other and the rest of the world. There is a natural urge in every system to try to spread influence. It doesn't imply a master plot to rule. It is a part of self-affirmation, of show-

ing that power already held is justified.

This is especially important to Soviet leaders because they have no other base for legitimacy, no argument to explain their being on top of their heap except that they are there and have the power to stay. It is foolish and dangerous to expect them to stop pushing on the world, to stop probing for opportunities, until Moscow is ready to reform its own system and seek consent from the ruled. And only the Russians themselves can make the needed changes, nobody else can force them to it. Threats only stiffen them.

What can the U.S. now do then to help itself and the world live through the long, perilous years that will take? Sooner or later the time will come, for the Russians now know they are suffocating themselves.

The most important thing to show is Western steadiness. In a campaign year in the U.S., both major candidates could announce that they will seek a Soviet-American summit as

soon as possible after inauguration. That would depoliticize the point.

The summit's purpose should be more than get-acquainted, but less than the excessive demand of agreements almost ready to be signed. It should be to make an agenda for negotiations, from peripheral issues such as consulates and cultural exchanges to the central nuclear rivalry. Then the meeting could show whether the best chance for results would come from starting with the least controversial or the biggest question, but it would prove American interest in possible accords.

Meanwhile, both candidates should propose exchanges between military leaders on both sides on strategic doctrine and perception of interest. These men don't change much. They can launch long-term talks. Too much is at stake to leave American intentions a question mark, a hustings issue. Let the contenders speak up in court. "Me, too" for peace isn't mimicry, it's good sense.

Aid To Central America Can Work

By M. Peter McPherson

WASHINGTON — Critics of the Kissinger commission's report say its proposal for large-scale economic aid is flawed on three counts: It's too big; Central America cannot manage it; and a major aid program won't produce long-term economic, social and political development. I reject all three charges. The program is no larger than needed to change the region's economic and political environment. It takes into account the region's limited management capacity. It can work — if the region's governments adopt sound economic and social policies.

Too big? The commission proposes an \$8.4 billion program of direct aid and guarantees from 1985 through 1989. Our fiscal 1985 program provides for assistance of \$1.1 billion, plus guarantees to support up to \$600 million in private lending. The appropriated assistance represents only about 4 percent of Central America's combined gross national product. A smaller program would be overwhelmed by political uncertainty, insurgency, low commodity prices and economic depression. Only a major United States initiative can restore private-sector confidence, backstop economic policy shifts and create social change.

Inadequate management? Central America's management capacity is a potential bottleneck. There will be "horror stories" of new schools without teachers, customs houses where equipment sits for months because of misplaced documents — unavoidable problems. Weak administration is a symptom of underdevelopment. The important issue is not whether such problems will crop up but whether they can be controlled so aid programs can succeed. They can, but only if governments

Management has already improved. Even with Central America's weak education systems, primary school enrollments rose from 68 percent of the primary school age population in 1960 to 84 percent in 1981. Public-health management is also poor but life expectancy increased from 50 to 62 years in the same period. Moreover, our program is designed to ease administrative problems. First, most assistance will go to the private sector. Second, technical assistance and training will help government officials to increase efficiency. We also are encouraging governments to transfer many functions to the private sector. Third, the region needs, and can absorb, increased aid. Private-sector production has fallen sharply and government investment programs have been decimated.

Aid won't produce long-term development? Money is not the only key to economic development. Venezuela and Mexico experienced dramatic increases in oil-export earnings in the 1970's but now suffer from mounting foreign debt, collapsing currencies, dramatic cutbacks in government spending, sharply lower living standards. But enormously increased costs of oil imports did not stop development in South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore. After adjustment, they resumed rapid

economic growth, increased employment and improved living standards.

The explanation for such differences lies in government policy. But government alone cannot achieve development. It requires private skills. Outside resources can ease temporary dislocations and buy time for better policies. More important, more resources and technical assistance can help government provide opportunities for poor people. If governments cannot offer a better life to all people through improved economic opportunity, education, health services and access to land, they cannot maintain broad popular support.

So that our aid will promote sound long-term development policies, we support creation of an independent Central American Development Organization to establish goals and performance guidelines for aid recipients. It would be made up of United States citizens and Central Americans.

Our assistance has helped stop the region's downward economic spiral. We expect that all these countries will have economic growth rates above zero next year, for the first time since 1979. But it will be 1990 before the per capita income level of 1979 is restored. Our policy talks with these governments already have led to better incentives for exports and investment, and have helped governments to help their poor.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative reinforces our assistance by creating an opportunity for these countries to accelerate employment and export diversification through development of manufacturing with ready access to the United States market. This will be particularly true for labor-intensive products that offer increased income for poor people.

Large-scale aid can work if countries receive sound programs, encourage the private sector and promote broad economic and social development.

ITHACA, N.Y. — President Reagan is asking American taxpayers to give \$9.4 billion for economic assistance to Central America over the next five years. It would be a waste of immense sums. Ironically, it would also strengthen precisely the forces that the President wants to destroy.

The problem in the proposal is not "slippage" or corruption in Agency for International Development programs. Nor should the debate be about attaching aid to human rights principles. The history of the region offers no evidence for hope that the Salvadoran, Honduran and Guatemalan military regimes will care about human rights when their existence — or even their personal wealth — is at stake.

The issue is more fundamental: whether to continue a policy that has failed. In 1981, the United States sent about \$150 million in economic aid to El Salvador, where several thousand defeated revolutionaries struggled to survive. About \$12 million went to Guatemala, where the economy flourished and a brutal but united army maintained order at the point of a bayonet. Nearly \$50 million went to our main regional ally, Honduras. Some \$19 million traveled through the Central Intelligence Agency to help counterrevolutionaries, or "contras," who vowed to establish a government inside Nicaragua for the overthrow of the Sandinista regime.

Since 1981, aid to these nations has multiplied several times. The result: 10,000 Salvadoran revolutionaries now control large parts of the country; the Guatemalan economy has declined and the country has endured two military coups; Honduras is suffering its gravest economic crisis in

Walter LaFeber teaches at Cornell University and is author, most recently, of "Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America."

Central American Aid — A Waste

By Walter LaFeber

50 years; and the defeated contras now admit that they have no hope of establishing a government.

The Reagan response is to multiply the aid program again. The Administration resembles the shirt salesman who loses \$10 on each item he sells but is confident he can avoid ruin by doubling his sales.

El Salvador is the centerpiece of the President's policy and the best example of failure. He proposes a quarter-billion dollars of economic aid for fiscal 1985, with more to follow. But the Salvadoran Planning Minister, Manuel Antonio Robles, recently acknowledged that the dollars continue to go to a few wealthy people — "the same entrepreneurs as always." Many of those "entrepreneurs" live in Miami and use secret bank accounts to support Roberto d'Aubuisson — long linked to the right-wing death squads — as he campaigns to win next month's presidential election. Thus the irony: As the Administration works for a victory of moderate, reformist candidates, United States dollars enrich the extremists who make such reform impossible.

In the past three years, Central Americans have put into overseas real estate and banks an estimated \$15 billion — nearly twice the amount

the Administration proposes to invest in the next five years. The dollars that do remain are even less productive. The Salvadoran Army has begun to draft engineers, agronomists and other highly trained professionals, draining their skills from the productive economy.

After three years of increased United States aid, unemployment has climbed to between 30 percent and 40 percent in El Salvador. Last month, the former Economy Minister Jorge Sol declared that the aid has obviously had "very little effect on poverty." In Honduras, United States economic aid since 1981 has doubled to more than \$100 million annually and military assistance has increased at several times that rate. Yet half the workforce is unemployed.

More than anything else, Central American "development aid" serves as conscience money for members of Congress who appropriate many other dollars for the real thrust of President Reagan's policy — the use of military force. Yet the war is destroying the region's economies, and victory looks increasingly less likely without the direct intervention of United States forces.

What's happening in Central America is a tragedy, a waste of money on the rich and the brutal. United States military efforts in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and northern Nicaragua are undermining all hopes for a negotiated peace. The Costa Rican Central Bank president, Carlos Castillo, now estimates that the entire region needs \$23 billion merely to recover 1980 income levels. That is nearly three times the amount that Mr. Reagan proposes, and the figure rises with each day of continued war. One of the many virtues of a negotiated solution would be that when the fighting stops, regional and West European nations can share the burden and the hope of building a more equitable Central America.

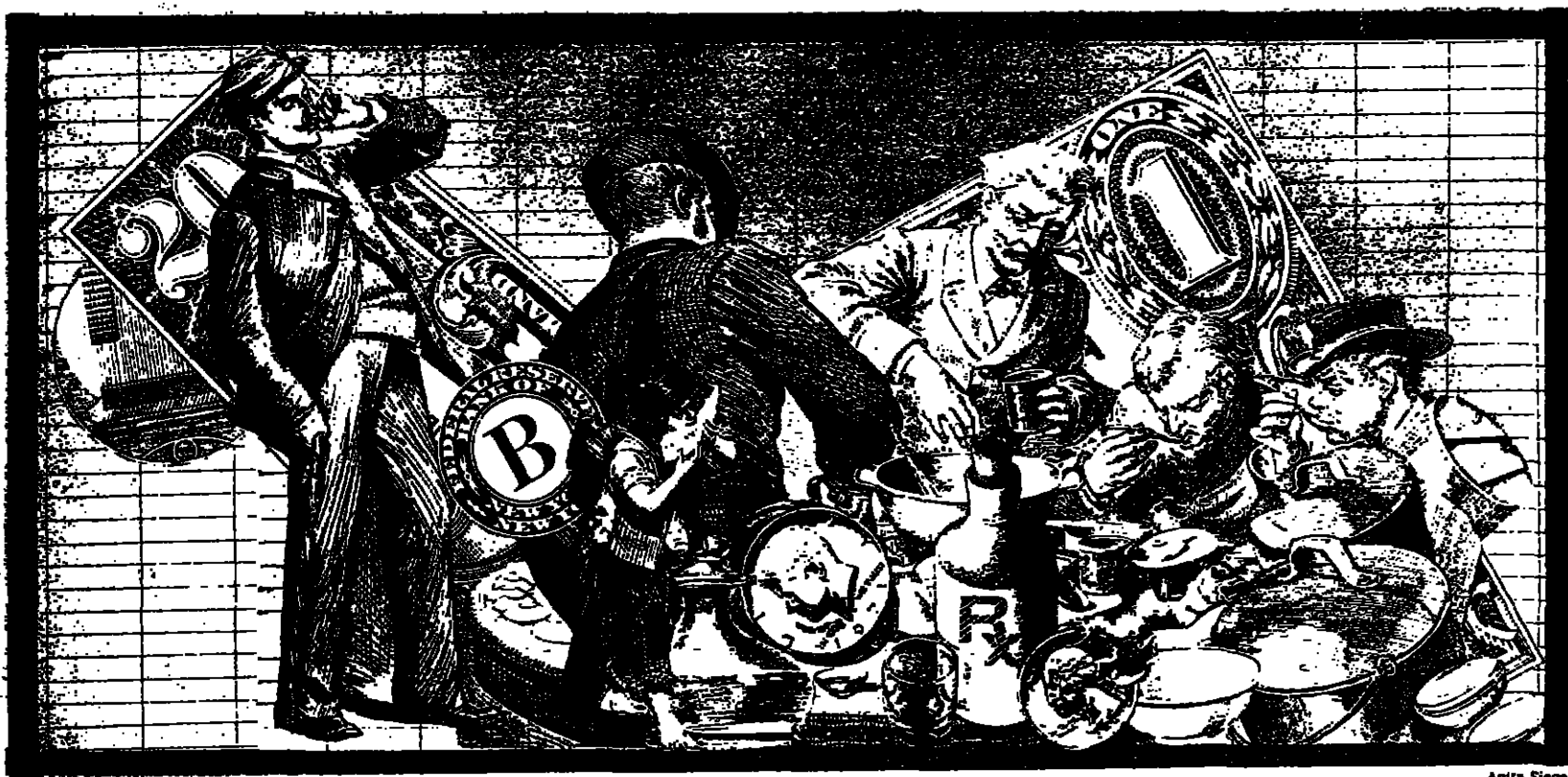
Don't 'Cash Out' Food Stamps

By E. Thomas Coleman

WASHINGTON — The report of the President's Task Force on Hunger recommended that the \$13 billion-a-year food stamp program be "cashed out" and replaced by block grants to the states, which would then assume responsibility for distributing the money to the poor. The task force cited Puerto Rico's 18-month experience with a similar program, asserting that it had been a success well worth replicating in the United States. "The elimination of food vouchers," the task force said, "would make the system more efficient, simpler to manage, less expensive to administer and would reduce the stigma associated with participation." What such an approach would do, however, is fundamentally transform a food assistance program into an income-maintenance or guaranteed-income program. And this was far from Congress's original intent.

In 1981, when Congress allocated \$25 million in food assistance grants to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, it hoped that Puerto Rico could devise

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a delivery system that was more efficient than the conventional food stamp program in the United States. Puerto Rico surprised everyone by deciding, with Administration approval, to distribute cash instead of food coupons or using other food-delivery programs. This went well beyond Congress's original purpose of tightening the existing program to insure that its benefits went to those whom the program was designed to serve.

When the White House and Agriculture Department approved the cash-

ing-out concept, they virtually washed their hands of responsibility for millions of dollars worth of taxpayers' money. Moreover, by supporting such a concept, the Administration appeared to be more concerned with form than substance — almost as if it regarded replacing food stamps with cash as a logical extension of President Reagan's New Federalism: the theory that states can do things better than the Federal Government.

I strongly support the New Federalism approach to many problems, but

it is no panacea. Cashing-out the food stamp program is just passing the buck — and, in this case, millions of bucks. If such a cashing-out system had existed nationwide last year, some \$12.8 billion in cash would have been handed over to 23.2 million recipients. Moreover, there would have been absolutely no guarantee that these billions of dollars appropriated for the program would be spent on food.

Obviously, some people would buy food with their cash grants. And, yes, the present food stamp program

using coupons does have serious flaws. There is illegal trafficking in food stamps, as well as the selling of stamps at discounts. Steps have been taken to crack down on these illegal activities. For instance, electronic transfer systems using magnetic identification cards are being tested in major cities; in addition, Agriculture Department inspectors charged with investigating illegal trafficking in food stamps are now armed with stronger powers.

Many argue that converting food stamps to a cash program will rid the

program of fraud and abuse. This is specious reasoning. We will not eradicate fraud in the food stamp program through cashing-out. What we will do is remove the ability to find out where the fraud exists. There will be no audit trails, no possibility of finding out who is abusing the program.

As the White House considers other New Federalism ideas, one can certainly anticipate that other programs will turn into cash giveaways. For example, if a giveaway were extended to the school lunch program, children would be directly given money to buy their lunches in the hope that some of the money would actually end up in the school cafeteria to pay for the meals.

Cashing-out the food stamp program is not a new idea; it has been debated in Congress for years — long before the advent of the Administration's New Federalism, and has been rejected on its merits.

Those who believe in the general philosophy of New Federalism may find attractive the idea of converting the food stamp program into cash that the states can use as they see fit. But whatever philosophy guides us, we in Congress must not abandon the goals and purposes for which programs were established. As for food stamps in particular, our fascination with delivery systems must not obscure the central consideration — that the program is designed to feed the hungry, and has no other purpose.

That there are serious abuses in the food stamp program is no reason to give up on its basic premise. If Congress approved, and all 50 states decided under the New Federalism approach to cash-out the program, and serious abuses were uncovered, the door could be opened to nationwide repudiation of the idea that we can administer an efficient program to feed our poor.

WASHINGTON — Mine is a Spanish-speaking household. We use Spanish exclusively. I have made an effort not only to encourage use of the language but also to familiarize my children with Hispanic culture. I use books from Latin America to teach them to read and write, and I try to maintain close contacts with Spanish-speaking relatives. Instilling in my children a sense of family and ethnic identity is my role; it is not the role of the school system.

The public schools, supported by public funds, have the responsibility to teach skills needed in public life — among them the use of the English language. They also must inculcate an appreciation of all the cultures that have contributed to this country's complex social weave. To set one ethnic group apart as more worthy of attention than others is unjust, and might breed resentment against that group.

I differ with educators who advocate bilingual education programs whose goal is to preserve the Spanish language and culture among children of Hispanic families. These professionals argue that in an English-speaking environment, Spanish-speaking children often feel alienated and that this causes them to become withdrawn and hostile. To prevent this reaction, they say, the home environment must be simulated at school.

Imagine how much more alienated these youngsters will feel, however, if they are kept in special bilingual programs separate from the general student body, semester after semester. How much more uncomfortable they will feel if they are maintained in ghettos in the school. Youngsters feel a need to conform. They imitate each other in dress and in habit. To isolate Spanish-speaking children from their

English-speaking peers may prove more psychologically damaging than hurting them into an English-speaking environment with no transition courses at all.

The purpose of bilingual education must be to teach English to non-English-speaking youngsters so that they will be able to function in regular classes.

The term "bilingual education" encompasses a huge variety of programs ranging from total immersion to special classes for foreigners to curricula that offer courses in mathematics and history in the child's native language. The most effective bilingual education programs have as their goal the gradual incorporation

Bilingualism's Goal

By Barbara Mujica

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The term "bilingual education" encompasses a huge variety of programs ranging from total immersion to special classes for foreigners to curricula that offer courses in mathematics and history in the child's native language. The most effective bilingual education programs have as their goal the gradual incorporation

of non-English-speaking students into regular programs in which English is used.

Not all children of Spanish-speaking parents need bilingual education. Many Spanish-speaking parents oppose the placement of their children in special programs; the wishes of these parents should be respected. Furthermore, very young children are able to learn a foreign language rapidly; bilingual programs for the nursery, kindergarten and early primary years should be kept to a minimum. Older children who have done part of their schooling in a foreign country often need to be eased into an English-speaking curriculum more gently. For them, it is helpful to offer

certain subjects in their native tongues until they have learned English; otherwise, they may feel so lost and frustrated that they will drop out of school. High school dropouts have less chance than others of finding satisfying careers and are more likely to find themselves in trouble and unemployed.

Hispanics are now the fastest-growing minority in the United States. According to the Population Reference Bureau, a private organization, Hispanics, counted at 14.6 million in the 1980 census, may well number 47 million by the year 2020. Yet, they are notoriously underrepresented in the arts, sciences, professions and politics. Economically, as a group, they tend to lag behind non-Hispanics. According to March 1983 Federal figures, the median income for Hispanics is \$16,227; for non-Hispanics, \$23,907. Certainly, part of the remedy is educational programs that give young people the preparation and

confidence necessary to pursue satisfying careers.

To get better jobs, young people must be fluent in English. Without English, they will be stuck in menial positions. Without English, they will be unable to acquire advanced degrees. Without English, they will be unable to protest to the proper authorities if they are abused. Non-English-speaking individuals are vulnerable to not only economic but also political exploitation. Too often, politicians who speak their language claim unjustly to represent their interests.

The primary goal of bilingual education must be the mainstreaming of non-English-speaking children through the teaching of English. But while the schools teach my children English, I will continue to teach them Spanish at home, because Spanish is part of their heritage. Ethnic identity, like religion, is a family matter.

Barbara Mujica is associate professor of Spanish at Georgetown University.

Arts & Leisure

How the Mature New Wave Shapes Films

The personal vision endures

By VINCENT CANBY

Give or take a few months, this year is the 25th anniversary of the Nouvelle Vague, that New Wave of young French filmmakers who, first by their sometimes outrageous statements and then by the extraordinary films they made to support those statements, forever changed the look of — as well as the way we look at — movies.

Their new criticism, the sweeping and, at the time, revolutionary *politiques des auteurs*, announced that all films, even the most ghastly collabo-

and rueful meditations on the tight spots that thinking people get themselves into, has just completed a long, successful first run. Mr. Godard has at least one film awaiting release and maybe more — he still works fast.

Louis Malle was not a member of the original gang of five — the Cahiers du Cinéma critics who became filmmakers. He began making films several years before the others, but his "The Lovers" with Jeanne Moreau and "Le Feu Follet" are seminal New Wave works. His latest film, the just-opened "Crackers," is a wobbly remake of "Big Deal on Madonna Street," but the three preceding films, "Pretty Baby," "Atlantic City" and "My Dinner with Andre," all made in this country, are as adventurous and original as anything he did in France.

The birth of the New Wave is pegged to 1959 since it was in that year that first feature films were directed by Jean-Luc Godard ("Breathless"), François Truffaut ("The 400 Blows") and Alain Resnais ("Hiroshima, Mon Amour"), while Jacques Rivette, described by Mr. Truffaut as "the most fanatic of all of our band of fanatics," was in the midst of shooting his first, "Paris Belongs to Us." Actually, Mr. Rivette had begun shooting in 1958 and he didn't finish until 1961, mostly with film stock given to him by his more successful comrades, but he too belongs to this vintage year.

Setting the pace was Claude Chabrol, who had made his first film, "Le Beau Serge," in 1958, the success of which opened the way for the others; all of whom, except Mr. Resnais, were initially better known as raucous, mean, wordy, rude, extremely biased film critics, principally associated with André Bazin's Cahiers du Cinéma.

The year 1959 was a giddy time of great expectations — and rewards. In 1958, Mr. Truffaut, after consistently ridiculing film festivals in general and the Cannes festival in particular, was formally banned from Cannes. A year later, his "400 Blows" became the official French entry at Cannes, where Mr. Truffaut won the Golden Palm as the best director. The vitriolic, 27-year-old director, whom Claude Autant-Lara, one of the Old Guard, called "the young hoodlum of journalism," had arrived.

So had a healthily iconoclastic approach to films, the effects of which eventually influenced the careers of young filmmakers all over the world — in Italy (Bernardo Bertolucci, Marco Bellochio), Switzerland (Alain Tanner, Claude Goretta), Germany (Werner Herzog, Wim Wenders) and, in this country, several generations of film-crazy students including Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola, Brian De Palma and Steven Spielberg, among others who, however, have seldom been allowed to make truly personal films.

Some New Wave filmmakers have not fared especially well with the American public or critics. With the exception of "La Religieuse," Mr. Rivette's films ("L'Amour Fou," "Out One/Spectre" and "Celine and Julie Go Boating") have been pretty much limited to festival screenings.

Mr. Chabrol dazzled us from the late 1960's and into the 70's with a series of witty, perverse, ravishingly beautiful exercises in love, murder, guilt and expiation, most of which star Stéphane Audran. These include "Les Biches," "Le Boucher" and "La Rupture." Though he continues to make films in France, they are not showing up in our theaters.

Since the birth of the New Wave in France 25 years ago, other, vaguely comparable movements have appeared in other countries, most notably in Czechoslovakia where, for five brief years, a small group of excep-

tionally talented film makers, including Milos Forman and Ivan Passer, flourished until the overthrow of the liberal government of Alexander Dubcek in 1968. Brazil has its Cinema Novo, the members of which share the strong ties of social and political reformers.

Britain's "Free Cinema" and the move into films of angry young film critics and stage directors more or less paralleled the appearance of the New Wave in France. Today Lindsay Anderson ("This Sporting Life," "The White Bus," "If..."), "Britannia Hospital" works mostly in the theater. Tony Richardson ("The Entertainer," "A Taste of Honey," "The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner," "Tom Jones") lives in California and makes films in this country, including the forthcoming "Hotel New Hampshire."

That the members of the New Wave have endured, and have produced such a large, remarkable body of work has less to do with politics and social reform than with esthetics and pure, unmitigated rage. The New Wave was never a political movement, even though its members did become politically effective in February 1959, when the French Government attempted to depose Henri Lan-



Jacques Rivette—"the most fanatic of all"

glois as head of the Cinéma-thèque Française. Mr. Godard and even the supposedly apolitical Mr. Truffaut took to the streets in well-publicized demonstrations that set the scene for the student uprisings all over France in May 1968.

The New Wave didn't just happen. The Cahiers du Cinéma critics were reacting against what they saw to be the stifling tradition of "quality" French films — slick, middlebrow, essentially genteel studio-shot films, exemplified by the work of Mr. Autant-Lara ("Le Diable au Corps") and the other directors who had dominated French commercial films since the 1930's and before.

The young Cahiers "hoodlums," who spent hours on end looking at films at the Cinéma-thèque, were especially fascinated by the energy of American films. They also came up with a theory to explain what they saw to be the consistently personal style of Hollywood directors like Howard Hawks, John Ford, George Cukor, Nicholas Ray and Joseph Losey, as these directors moved among genres, from westerns to slapstick comedies to films of social import to romances. It had to do with the "tension" they detected between the personality of the individual director and whatever genre he happened to be working in.

The Cahiers manifesto, credited to Mr. Truffaut but understood to represent the Cahiers consensus, was, among other things, a demand for a new kind of French film — a new film industry, really, one that would recognize that the world had changed since 1932 and would make financially possible personal films shot inexpensively outside the stuffy studios.

Though the new criticism was responsible for a lot of nonsense written about directors who, clearly, were not auteurs of merit, it pointed the way, in this country as well as in France, to a less pious kind of criticism. Henceforth films would not be judged principally on their redeeming social value but on their own artistic merits, no matter how seemingly frivolous the work. More important, Cahiers critics and their associates then demonstrated that they had the talent as well as the passion to put into practice what they were screaming about with such impatience.

The initial successes of the Chabrol, Truffaut, Godard and Malle films prompted the kind of young-director craze in France that swept Hollywood in 1969 after the hit "Easy Rider." French producers were falling all over each other in their eagerness to sign people to make more of these new, personal films on the cheap. How much money went down the drain on such films I've no idea, but it must have been a considerable amount.



François Truffaut



Jean-Luc Godard



Alain Resnais

In a 1961 review of Mr. Rivette's "Paris Belongs to Us," Mr. Truffaut wrote, "Every month the death throes of the 'nouvelle vague' are announced. But there are 24 'first films' in 1961, and the number will reach 32 in 1962, and go even higher in 1962." He then named 18 "first directors" who, he said, were about to give birth, only several of whom one might be expected to recognize today.

However, the New Wave should not be measured by the failures that followed the first excitement of discovery, but by the successes of the filmmakers who went on. They demonstrated not only that films of rare and original quality could be made inexpensively, with new lightweight camera and sound equipment, and could find a public, but also that filmmakers with radically different concerns could flourish in the same market, as friends, at least in those early, halcyon days.

Thus, Mr. Truffaut, whose sensibility is that of a novelist, supported the work of Mr. Godard, who makes movies that are philosophical essays, and he, in turn, supported Mr. Rohmer. The Rohmer films are high comedies that one might expect to be completely alien to the man who directed "Breathless," made the jump-cut a permanent part of film language and set out to burn down the Establishment with such works as "Wind from the East" and "See You at Mao's." Mr. Chabrol developed his own, highly intellectualized versions of what the French call film noir — stories of crime and passion shot in magnificent color and firmly rooted in the manners of the bourgeoisie.

Like today's young American filmmakers, the original New Wave directors were obsessed by films, all films, any films. There is a big difference, though, between the New Wave pioneers and the Americans who came after.

Mr. Truffaut, Mr. Godard, Mr. Rohmer, Mr. Chabrol and the others are obsessed by films as a way of in-

terpreting their visions of a world that is also nourished by all of the other arts as well. The best New Wave films are expansive. They look outside themselves. Though these young French directors filled their films, especially the earlier ones, with references — homages — to other films, there also is an awareness of literature, painting, music, philosophy, politics and history. Their films come close to a realization of what Alexandre Astruc, a filmmaker as well as critic and novelist, called the "camera-stylo," a "camera-pen," to enable films to become as articulate as the written language.

American films, especially those produced by younger directors and writers whose educations have centered around film schools, often appear to be exclusively self-referential. This is apparent not only in remakes, but in spinoffs and endless repetitions of last year's hit film. The world they see is less a reflection of the world as the rest of us see it than a reflection of the world as recorded in other films by other filmmakers.

This is partly because of the awful demands of American filmmaking, the need to "entertain" the widest possible audience in order to be able to finance the next film. But it may also be a result of educations that put too much emphasis on the history and technology of filmmaking to the exclusion of everything else.

Though the New Wave pioneers were friends and comrades in arms, each was an individualist. They championed the underrated artistry of Hollywood directors, but the European directors they revered were the losers who, in one way and another, survived the crushing gentleness of the European filmmaking establishments — men like Jean Renoir, Jacques Tati, Robert Bresson, Jean-Pierre Melville in France, the Spaniard Luis Buñuel who made most of his films in Mexico and France, the German-born and bred Max Ophüls,

Roberto Rossellini in Italy and Carl Dreyer in Denmark.

What a quarter century this has been! Not only for New Wave films and filmmakers, but also for the actors and actresses identified with them: the incomparable Jeanne Moreau of "Jules and Jim," who, after working with most of the great directors of the world, has become her own filmmaker; Jean-Pierre Léaud, who, on-screen, grew up from the troubled, adolescent hero of "400 Blows" to the self-centered novelist in "Love on the Run" in 1979; Jean-Paul Belmondo, introduced to the world in "Breathless" and still going strong; Catherine Deneuve, as the virginal young beauty of Jacques Demy's "Umbrellas of Cherbourg" (1964); the siren-schemer of "Mississippi Mermaid" (1969) and, more recently, the incredibly beautiful, mature stage actress in "The Last Metro."

Also, Anna Karina, whose face illuminated so many early Godard classics; Fanny Ardant in "The Woman Next Door" and the current "Confidentially Yours"; the chic and funny Stéphane Audran in Mr. Chabrol's "Femme Infidèle" and Luis Buñuel's "Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie"; Jean-Claude Brialy in "Le Beau Serge"; Isabelle Huppert in Mr. Chabrol's "Violette"; and the current "Entre Nous"; Jean Seberg in her T-shirt in "Breathless," never so perfectly cast before or after; Gérard Depardieu, Michel Bouquet, Marie-France Pisier, Bernadette Lafont, Bulle Ogier, Charles Denner, Delphine Seyrig, Oskar Werner, and on and on and on.

Mention must be made also of Helen Scott, a member of the French Film Office in New York in 1959, who went on to become the friend, confidante, historian and biggest booster of New Wave directors — and biggest deflator of their egos when the occasions warranted, as well as Mr. Truffaut's collaborator on his classic book, "Hitchcock," and sometime actress, as in Mr. Godard's "Weekend."



Claude Chabrol—He set the pace for the others.

rations, could be seen as the work of a single artistic sensibility, that is, of the director-as-"auteur."

Their films, made on limited budgets in the real world outside the walls of the studios, turned poverty into visual assets. They came up with new editing tricks, including the jump-cut that functions as cinema shorthand. They rediscovered others — such as the "iris," by which a portion of an image can be isolated on an otherwise black screen — that had been abandoned as old-fashioned with the arrival of the talkies. It was almost as if films were being reinvented.

It's not stretching things to suggest that had there been no Jean-Luc Godard, there would have been no Rainer Werner Fassbinder, the single most important filmmaker of the post-New Wave generation. Although it's risky and often arbitrary to attempt to chart these lines of influence, I also suspect that had there been no François Truffaut, New York theaters today would not be showing Bill Forsyth's sweetly eccentric, Scottish comedy, "That Sinking Feeling," and Diane Kurys's singularly fine "Entre Nous." More than any other post-New Wave French film, "Entre Nous" carries on the humanist tradition that Mr. Truffaut so admires in the work of Jean Renoir and demonstrates in his own "400 Blows" and virtually every film he's made.

In "Entre Nous," Miss Kurys has also pulled off something that has eluded all but one of her young Hollywood contemporaries. She has made a big commercial motion picture that is also extremely personal. Only Lawrence Kasdan's Oscar-nominee, "The Big Chill," succeeds in the same way. However, "The Big Chill" is the exception to the rule in Hollywood, where truly personal films are suspect until they are safely in the black as box-office hits.

As much as I admire films like Steven Spielberg's "Close Encounters of the Third Kind" and "Raiders of the Lost Ark," Brian De Palma's "Scarface" and Francis Ford Coppola's first "Godfather," most of them seem mighty limited in outlook next to a "Peau Douce," a "Day for Night," a "Sauve Qui Peut" ("Every Man for Himself") and even such a highly literate comedy as "Claire's Knee." The best American films represent a kind of industrialized Group-Think. They are most personal in purely technical ways.

Not the least remarkable thing about the New Wave has been its staying power. Mr. Truffaut's "Confidentially Yours" — a mystery-mystery-comedy of the 1930's and 40's, is now in first run. Mr. Rohmer's "Pauline at the Beach," one of his most elegant



Eric Rohmer—His films are high comedies.

not fared especially well with the American public or critics. With the exception of "La Religieuse," Mr. Rivette's films ("L'Amour Fou," "Out One/Spectre" and "Celine and Julie Go Boating") have been pretty much limited to festival screenings.

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CONSIDER THE following paradox: the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (AACI) honoured a "non-Zionist" leader in the Jewish Agency at its cent 24th annual convention and his work in helping to give aliya prominent place on the agenda of organized North American Jewish

Consider, too, that only 15 years ago, one of the founders of the AACI, the immigrant association of North Americans, was not allowed to speak about aliya when he attended a conference in New York — a major American Zionist (I) organization.

Clearly, something has happened between then and now to befuddle ideological distinction between Zionists and non-Zionists, and to move the long-standing taboo in non-Zionist circles in North America on grappling with the issue of aliya.

Changes have occurred at this point too. The fervent Zionist commitment that brought North American Jews to Israel in the early years of the state often blocked any inclination to continue a relationship or dialogue with those ill in the "old country." A common attitude was "If you are not with us, we have nothing to say to each other."

At the AACI convention, however, the theme was "building bridges" between North American Jews and their former communities, by means of direct contacts and dialogue freed from the most part of dogmatic constraints.

The AACI has close to 16,000 members, which in terms of families presents most of the 60,000 North American immigrants in Israel. Thirty-one full-time and 11 part-time workers, most of them counselors, staff the national office and five regional offices. The

GRAPPLING WITH ALIYA

CHARLES HOFFMAN reports on the national convention of AACI — the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel.

professional staff is backed up by a wide range of volunteer committees on the national and regional levels.

In the last few years, the AACI has greatly increased its efforts to make direct contact between North Americans in Israel and their brethren visiting as tourists, students or as members of UJA missions; and to create an awareness of the importance of aliya and support for immigrants among the Jewish community federations of North America, again by direct contacts between AACI and the local leadership.

The goal of increasing these direct contacts in Israel and abroad hardly sounds subversive, but some of the obstacles have indeed been formidable. The keynote address by convention chairman Natalie Gordon touched on some of them:

"It may be that contacts have not been maintained because some North American Jews are reluctant to expose themselves to the necessity of defensive postures when confronted by American olim. It is much easier to deal with a native Israeli's question 'why don't you come and live in Israel' than with the same question from a former American or Canadian."

"It is less troublesome to listen to establishment personalities who will

not usually embarrass one with talk of aliya, than with a former colleague who may broach the unbroachable subject in a very personal way. And even when our fellow Jews visiting Israel do not fear contact with us, they are often protected by the 'system' which sees the purpose for which they come in very narrow terms."

AS PART OF the dialogue on "building bridges," a panel of four North American Jewish establishment figures were invited to respond to Gordon's remarks. This was something of an achievement, since in previous years North American Jewish leaders had shown little interest in confronting these issues, and of all places in a forum sponsored by North American olim.

The missions director for UJA, Alvin Glens, did not hide behind a fog of rhetoric in explaining why visits to North American immigrants are usually not scheduled. "Most mission participants are visiting Israel for the first time, and we have to show them something exotic, something that 'sells,' like Ethiopian Jews or dums. The effectiveness of our fund-raising on these missions is linked to this, and I am sure you wouldn't want to detract from these goals."

An AACI veteran added that



Irwin Field (Israel Sun)

even when home visits are scheduled on missions, former North Americans are often left off the list because they are not regarded as "real Israelis."

Despite these UJA policies, the AACI has succeeded in arranging home visits with North American olim during the last two years with about 1,000 mission participants. This was accomplished, though, by making sure at the other end that the communities sending the missions specifically requested home hospitality with "their" immigrants, exotic or not.

An important vehicle for cementing Israel-North America ties in these visits has been the "hometown" groups organized by AACI. These range in geographical scope from specific cities such as Miami, Philadelphia and San Francisco to broad areas such as "Minnesota and the Dakotas."

Hometown reunions are only a marginal part of their purpose. Their main function is to provide an "address" for missions and other visitors from their former

communities when they are in Israel. The AACI's goal is to develop the relations between the hometown groups and the federations so that the latter "see these olim as an extension of the community from which they came."

THE AACI also hosts participants in pilot trips for potential olim organized by the Jewish Agency and the North America Aliya Movement (NAAM).

NAAM has about 5,700 members who have committed themselves to taking the plunge and coming to Israel within the next few years.

AACI's relations with the community federations have not emerged in a vacuum. In some instances they were facilitated by the aliyah councils in federations, bodies which began to be set up during the mid and late 1970s at the urging of the World Zionist Organization. The councils, which are active in about a dozen communities, provide services ranging from going-away parties for olim to loans to facilitate their absorption.

Aliya activists would like to see this federation commitment, which is still tentative in most places, develop into providing housing loans for immigrants, in the same way as the British and South African Jewish communities provide for their olim.

It is one thing for a federation to spend a few dollars on coffee and cake for a going-away party, but it is clearly another for it to commit tens of thousands of dollars of its locally-raised funds for immigrant housing loans in Israel.

THAT IS WHERE people like Irwin Field come in, the "non-Zionist" honoured at the AACI conference.

Field and most of his fellow Diaspora members of the Jewish

Agency board of governors no doubt resent this non-Zionist tag, which was first placed on Diaspora participants in the newly-formed agency in 1929, who were not members of the Zionist political parties. Since the great upsurge of Diaspora support and identification with Israel in the Six Day War, the term non-Zionist has been on its way out.

Field is today the chairman of the United Israel Appeal, the organization that allocates and monitors the funds made available to the agency from UJA campaigns in the U.S.

The AACI national director Joe Wernick said that Field was instrumental in having the recent conference of the General Assembly of Jewish Federations in Atlanta devote a major session to aliya. AACI has sent a representative to this forum for the last four years to put across the message that Jewish communities should take greater responsibility for encouraging North American aliya.

Wernick and the lay leaders of AACI are intent on developing these direct connections between North American olim and their former communities as the best way to encourage aliya and to facilitate absorption.

We might note who is missing from this equation: the *shlimim* (emissaries) and other officials of the Aliya Department of the WZO, which has official responsibility for stimulating and organizing aliya from North America. The largely moribund American Zionist parties are also nowhere to be seen.

IN THE WORKSHOPS of the AACI convention, much abuse was heaped on the aliyah *shlimim* of the WZO by delegates who had come to Israel in recent years. Common complaints were that they are for the most part unfamiliar with the communities to which they were

sent, unable to communicate properly, and also uninformed about aliya and absorption procedures.

A NAAM delegate who is planning his aliya next year said that "it is very important for pilot tours to visit successful olim in Israel, and for olim visiting the States to come and talk to our members. We can't rely on what the *shlimim* tell us and we need people like you to explain what life is really like here. We are not afraid of the truth, only of the unknown."

Wernick noted that part of the "let's do it ourselves" spirit now permeating the AACI was inspired in part by none other than Raphael Kottowitz, who was bounced from his job as head of the agency aliya department last October by the board of governors. He said that Kottowitz "tried to hamper the AACI from forging direct ties with communities in North America by eliminating our short-term *shlimim* programme and sending his own people instead, and by putting other obstructions in our way."

He said that Kottowitz's resistance to a more independent role for AACI in stimulating aliya had also spurred its leaders to seek support among the organization's patrons on the board of governors to remove the budget for AACI from the aliyah department's control. Two-thirds of AACI's budget of \$750,000 comes from the WZO, and the rest from membership dues and fees for activities.

"EVEN THOUGH we get most of our budget from the establishment," Wernick asserted, "we have the duty to act as an independent organization in the best interests of aliya and absorption, even if it means opposing the aliyah department or the Ministry of Immigration Absorption on certain issues."

THIS COLUMN, in my opinion, should provide useful hints for every gardening enthusiast — old and young, town- and country-dweller, struggling amateur and near-professional. This time, therefore, with spring in the air, I am putting together a hotchpotch from which, I hope, every garden-minded reader will be able to extract at least one item of value.

WINTER PRUNING that has not been finished should be completed now. Pruning during late winter takes a lot of gardening time. Deciduous fruit-trees, grapes, berry-shrubs, roses, hydrangeas and umellias are just a few of the many plants which will need to be pruned before March.

Hydrangea (*hortensia*) stems that have flowered should be cut back to two or three strong buds. If buds haven't yet developed into leaves, you can use the cuttings for propagation. Insert the stemtings up to half their length in a 50:50 vermiculite medium and replant later together with the lole rootball. Feed immediately after transplanting.

Fuchsias need hard pruning, cause it is the abundant new growth which develops in spring that produces all those lovely blooms. I always use my fuchsia cuttings for propagation. I plant them into small pots filled with a soil — compost — sand and mixture (one-third each) and when they start flowering at Pessah, I use them for prenis. Don't forget, fuchsias like shade and regular watering.

The deciduous hibiscus is another plant that should be pruned now. Discard cuttings are also suitable for propagation. I recommend dipping the cut ends into a rooting hor-

Hotchpotch of hints

GARDENER'S CORNER / Walter Frankl

monite powder (available at seed shops), before potting them. If you want to propagate fruit trees, grafting can be done this month, but for apples you can wait until early March. Perennials can be divided now and new ones planted.

Spray your grape-vines and fruit trees with bordeaux (lime-coppersulphate-water) solution to prevent curly leaf or fungal diseases.

Look at your nurseryman's inventory of deciduous ornamentals. They may be planted now.

Prepare some liquid manure from chicken or cow manure (1 kg. manure to 8-10 litres of water, stirred well) and give a fortnightly soluble feed to the vegetable patch, to flower seedlings, to spring-flowering bulbs and to roses. You can also use a commercial liquid plant food, like *Nutricol* or *Merlav* but the homemade type is much better.

FOR LATE spring and summer blooming the following seedlings can be planted: snapdragon (*la haari*); statice (*adad*); delphinium (*doravit*); alyssum (*melalanit* or *salseli kessef*); love-in-a-mist (*nigella*); mermesia; pansy, (*amnon wetamar*); godetia; California poppy, (*esholtzia*); Lobelia *Scabiosa* (*tagit* or *bereh hagamal*).

Spray roses prophylactically

against aphids with malathion as soon as the first new, purple top leaves appear after pruning.

VEGETABLE BEDS for early planting should be prepared in good time (dig, manure, and level by raking). After the last rains, all raised beds should be flattened to soil level to conserve water. Hedges that are not in bloom can be trimmed during early spring. In your rock garden, you can now plant creeping rosemary, lavender, *Ayaga reptans*, *Carpobrotus* (*mesembryanthemum*), gazania and other "dwarfs."

Ferns will soon begin to develop new fronds. This is a suitable time to repot them into fresh soil for better growth. Use a soil mix that will drain easily (sand or vermiculite additions) with plenty of well-rotted compost. A little pulverized charcoal and a sprinkle of slow-release fertilizer (osmocote) should be added.

All plants in containers which have become too thick and look overcrowded, or those with roots growing through the drainage hole, may be divided or transplanted into larger containers. Mint (*naana*) grown in containers should be divided and repotted. A sprinkle of sulphate of ammonia (*gofrat amnon*) should be mixed in the soil.

Start sowing tomatoes, peppers and eggplants in covered seed-boxes or frames.

SUMMER-FLOWERING annuals like cosmos, redbeckia, salvia, petunia, ageratum, Chinese carnation, phlox, marigold, amaranthus, celosia, zinnia, aster balsam, decorative peppers and gomphrena (globe amaranth) may be sown now in well-covered nursery frames.

Most cacti end their hibernation now. Lift the soil around them with a cultivator (a kitchen fork for potted cacti), add small amounts of general fertilizer (20-20-20 or guano) and start watering during rainless spells.

Cymbidium orchids that didn't flower may need a little more sunlight and a regular feeding with *Nutricol*. Every three or four years is enough to repot these jungle-dwellers. I bought a cymbidium four years ago from Kibbutz Yifat near Afula, the largest orchid nursery in Israel. Unfortunately it flowers only every second year, so don't be disappointed when yours do likewise.

Established (still dormant) lawns can be top-dressed slightly with some new red soil or sieved compost. Later, with the beginning of new sprouting, nitrogenous fertilizers, like sulphate of ammonia or urea, should be given. For blooming around summer, a few gladioli corms and dahlia tubers can be planted. When buying, choose the largest ones with small, visible sprouts. Geraniums should be trimmed a little and the cuttings used for propagation. Remove all lower leaves from the stems and insert 10-15 cm. deep.

IF YOU NEED more life and greenery for your pergola, plant hederas (ivy, *kissus*) *Ficus pumila*, *Asparagus plumosus* and *Thunbergia*

alata. The last has very decorative light-blue or orange flowers with black spots in the centre.

Ask your nurseryman for more suitable perennial climbers, perhaps a bougainvillea (available in various colours), rooted grape-vines in big tins, or fruiting *passiflora* (*shaonit*).

This is also the best time to plant corms of tuberous begonias and sinigalias (*gloxinias* balcony boxes or bigger flower pots. They will reward you with beautiful flowers in late summer and early autumn. They thrive in partial shade. These plants are sensitive to overwatering, and for best results avoid wetting their leaves and crowns.

New Zealand spinach can be grown now from seed. It isn't true spinach, but it does a good job for a long period. It requires more cultivation and attention in heavy soil, but will produce abundantly. Soaking the seeds in tepid water overnight will lead to quicker germination.

This plant can go with little or without water for extended periods. Even when drought-yellowed, it will usually come back strong after a good soaking, especially when given a generous side-dressing of compost or manure.

Once New Zealand spinach means forever New Zealand spinach, because this plant will self-seed in the autumn and there will be so many new plants in spring that you will have to thin them out for a good new harvest.

JERUSALEM. Mayor Teddy Koflek is giving a reception on Thursday for the Israel-Netherlands Committee which for the third time has donated 100,000 spring-flowering bulbs for Jerusalem's public gardens.

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Flirting with the PLO

SUPPORTERS of Israel in the U.S. Congress are pushing for legislation that would make it illegal for the U.S. to have any contacts with the PLO, even through third parties.

This is their response to press disclosures that for nine months before the start of Operation Peace for Galilee the State Department had indirect exchanges with the PLO via an intermediary, John Edwin Mroz, who heads a New York-based Middle East institute. The Congressional initiative seeks to ensure that the administration will have no truck with the PLO, not even on a preliminary basis, so long as that organization has not met the well-known American conditions for a dialogue.

These conditions, set in 1975, include endorsement of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and an acknowledgement of Israel's right to exist.

The talks handled by Mr. Mroz were ostensibly aimed at finding out whether the PLO, under the leadership of the supposedly "moderate" Yasser Arafat, could bring itself to meet conditions that even its Soviet patrons should not be able to find any fault with. It turned out that nine long months were not enough to induce the PLO to accept Security Council resolutions which are almost universally held to be a cornerstone of any Arab-Israeli peace settlement.

That way, it could be argued, Yasser Arafat handed Israel a diplomatic victory on a silver platter.

At the same time, reports about the contacts suggest that the State Department was not entirely unwilling to sanction, in lieu of a straightforward statement recognizing Israel's right to statehood, a roundabout formulation which would have left the Palestinian Covenant unrevoked. This would presumably have been achieved by claiming that the articles in the Covenant calling for Israel's destruction have been "amended" by resolutions of the Palestine National Council which call for a separate Palestinian state on territories occupied by Israel in the Six Day War.

It is in the apparent appeal to some official American minds of such vacuous pretence that the danger of "preliminary" contacts with the PLO may lie. But it is by no means certain that legislation is the most effective means of preventing the State Department from arranging, with or without such talks, a deal with the PLO that would be based on a watered-down version of the conditions for a substantive dialogue.

Israel, for its part, must insist that the U.S. reject any notion of a dialogue with the PLO so long as the Covenant stands.

Israel's case with Europe

ON THE FACE of it, Israel hardly has a strong hand in its negotiations with the European Economic Community over the effects of Spain's imminent accession on Israel's agricultural exports to the Community.

After all, the fundamental purpose of an economic community is to give more favourable trading terms to its members than to outsiders. Soon, probably by the end of next year, Spain will be a member while Israel will remain an outsider. No argument or contention advanced by Prime Minister Shamir, in his talks with EEC foreign ministers in Brussels last week could erase or blur that crucial distinction.

Despite the objective handicap in Israel's position, however, Israel does not come entirely cap-in-hand to the Community when it seeks improved terms for its own farm produce to help it meet the Spanish challenge. Its case is grounded in a preferential tariff relationship that has evolved over more than two decades, was enshrined in the 1975 EEC-Israel Agreement — and has worked beneficially for both sides.

Even for the EEC, the burgeoning and coalescing economic giant, \$3.2 billion worth of exports to Israel during 1983, most of them industrial goods freed of duty by the 1975 agreement, is a volume of trade not to be sneezed at.

Another statistic to underscore the same point: Israel, with its relatively small population, accounts for 17.5 per cent of the EEC's exports to the Mediterranean littoral states with which the EEC entered into "global" tariff agreements: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Cyprus and Israel.

Being lumped together with the Maghreb countries, in the eyes of the Community, should be a boon for Israel, given the North Africans' still-close post-colonial ties with France. Indeed, one of Mr. Shamir's modest achievements in the talks last week was the public undertaking from the French foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, currently president of the Council of Ministers, that the treatment of all the Mediterranean group members will be equal.

Plainly, though, much tough negotiating lies ahead. Mr. Shamir obtained from his hosts a commitment to talk "concretely and intensively" about Israel's concerns before the accession of Spain and Portugal. He obtained no undertaking as to the outcome of those talks.

Inevitably the attitude of the Community to these economic issues is influenced by the overall political climate, and here there has been something of a thaw of late. For a long time after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon the EEC-Israel dialogue was virtually frozen. Now there is a readiness to resume both talks and more tangible programmes of economic and technical cooperation.

In Brussels Mr. Shamir engineered a useful precedent: the EEC Council of Ministers met as a group with the Israeli premier and discussed the Middle East. (This followed and was separate from the trade talks.) It sounds a normal and natural occurrence; but had never occurred before — which never prevented the EEC from taking stands on Middle East issues.

Apparently Mr. Shamir's repeated professions of desire and intent to withdraw from Lebanon have impressed the Europeans. Hopefully they will not be disillusioned.

Harsh realities and 'Arab solidarity'

By BRUCE MADDY WEITZMAN

KING HUSSEIN's recent references to the need for collective Arab decisions to be taken according to the "majority rule" principle, as opposed to the traditional means of seeking an all-Arab consensus has prompted a fair amount of comment. Much of it has focused on the formal, procedural level, and has thus failed to elucidate the substantive realities of inter-Arab politics.

First, some history: Article 7 of the Arab League's 1945 charter had attempted to reconcile the league's authority with the sovereignty of its members; thus, those decisions which could not be arrived at unanimously were to be "binding only upon those states which have accepted them."

In practice, the nature and extent of Arab collective decision-making has been a function of the realities of the balance of power within the Arab world.

Usually, this meant that Egypt (up until 1977) could, when it wanted to, effectively prevent actions by other league members not to its liking (e.g., Jordan's efforts to conclude a non-aggression pact with Israel in 1950; Iraq's attempt to create an alternative regional power center via its participation in the Baghdad Pact) or oppose impingements on its own freedom of action (e.g., Syrian and Iraqi attempts at "outbidding" over the conflict with Israel in 1964, and again at Khartoum after the Six Day War).

By the mid-1970s, Syria's growing strength also began to be reflected in Arab forums: witness the collective Arab sanction in 1976 for Syria's presence in Lebanon.

AT THE SAME TIME, the power of any one individual state was never fully sufficient: neither Cairo, nor Damascus, nor any other Arab government ever felt free to entirely ignore the rest of the Arab world.

Ideologically, the notions of Arab solidarity and unity remained powerfully emotive. In practical terms, straying too far from the rest could invite intrigue, subversion and upheaval instigated both from within and without.

In the mid-1970s, the thrust for consensus, coinciding with the long-term decline in the belief in the ef-

ficacy of integral Arab unity, fit in nicely with Saudi Arabia's approach to regional questions. Riyadh's new oil wealth had brought it considerable power; however, when coupled with the regime's essential fragility, it verily invited subversion.

Thus, the Saudis perceived that a Saudi-fashioned consensus, backed by generous subsidies, was the best way to both advance Arab interests and forestall the radical forces in the Arab world capable of undermining the ruling house of Saud.

The problem inherent in the consensus approach, however, was that it tended to emphasize the lowest common denominator, and militate against major policy initiatives.

Thus, in 1977, at almost the very moment in which the Saudi approach seemed to be acceptable to all, Sadat correctly perceived that a united Arab delegation at a Geneva peace conference would leave him hostage to Syrian and Palestinian views. It was at this juncture that he chose to break the bonds (and bindings) of Arab solidarity and pursue his own peace initiative.

EGYPT'S "defection from the Arab trench" (a Syrian term) and subsequent suspension from the Arab League left the major players in the Arab balance of power game (Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Jordan) scrambling for position, but with no one, either singly or in alliance with others, able to gain a decisive edge.

Concurrently, inter-Arab politics became further complicated by the cropping up of a number of new issues (the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the challenge posed by the Iranian Islamic revolution and the Iran-Iraq war, the issue of Gulf security, and sub-regional problems in the Maghreb and Southern Arabian peninsula) all of which further fragmented Arab ranks and for many took priority over the conflict with Israel.

For much of the last five years since the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Syria has found itself in a distinct minority on nearly every Arab issue.

Nonetheless, it has stubbornly resisted Arab efforts to modify its policies (its alliance with non-Arab Iran against Iraq, and in Lebanon);

b) wielded a veto power on various all-Arab issues (by leading a boycott of the 1980 Amman summit, by causing the breakup of the 1981 Foz summit over the Fahd Plan, by forcing the PLO on both occasions to go along, by opposing the PLO-Jordanian confederation talks of last year, and by its rejection, and apparent torpedoing of the May 17 Lebanese-Israeli agreement);

c) flexed its military muscles to give teeth to its own positions (vis a vis Jordan in November-December, 1980, and in the past year vis a vis both the PLO and the Jemayel government).

BOTH THE Arab press and Arab leaders have repeatedly bemoaned the state of Arab disarray.

In May 1982, Saudi Arabia took an additional step beyond complaining, and broke the taboo regarding any questioning of the sacredness of an all-Arab consensus. On that occasion, Radio Riyadh stated that it was necessary to "get things moving" by mobilizing the greater part of "the Arab potential," i.e. the potential of those "whose views and positions were identical," thereby ending the immobility imposed by waiting for all of it to become available.

By hinting at the need to return Egypt to the Arab fold, Riyadh demonstrated that it fully understood the nature of the Arab balance of power game: a simple counting of votes would not be enough; only Egypt could provide the necessary muscle to oppose Syrian policies.

Since then, however, the Saudis have studiously refrained from taking the lead either in directly challenging the Syrian veto power (and have, in fact, repeatedly acquiesced to Damascus on Lebanese issues) or in reinstating Egypt in the Arab League.

By contrast, King Hussein's reannunciation of the idea of majority rule may prove to be more significant. For Jordan, the issue is more direct: will it be able to muster the necessary Arab backing to allow it to play a role in determining the future of the West Bank — something the Syrians and its

Dry Bones



Palestinian supporters will oppose with all their might?

The timing is also significant, and perhaps propitious. Egypt has already resumed a significant role in the region: witness its steadily deepening ties with Iraq and Jordan, its possible renewal of full diplomatic relations with Morocco, its embracement by a desperate Yasser Arafat, and its full reinstatement in the Islamic Conference Organization.

THIS IS NOT to say, however, that an Egyptian return to its traditional leadership role in the Arab League is necessarily imminent, or that Arab League decision-making procedures are on the verge of radical revision.

A number of states, including Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Tunisia, remain uneasy over the almost certain walkout by Syria and Libya that this will bring; even Jordan and Iraq may still prefer at this stage not to take the symbolic step of the renewal of full diplomatic relations.

Jordan, for its part, continues to wait for the PLO dust to settle before openly renewing its interest in the Reagan Plan. Furthermore, it cannot yet be sure of full Egyptian backing for a more activist policy towards the West Bank in the face of certain Syrian opposition.

Naturally, much also depends on future political developments in

both Israel and the U.S., not to mention the course of events in Lebanon.

Nonetheless, King Hussein's call for the implementation of the majority-rule principle in collective Arab decision-making remains significant. It is both a signal to Syria that he has not yet acquiesced to Syrian regional hegemony, and a call for collective Arab backing for his own policies which, given the nature of the Arab balance of power, can only have meaning if it is conferred by an Egyptian-led majority.

Furthermore, this majority would be quite substantial: even if one takes for granted the opposition of Syria, Libya and South Yemen, and makes allowances for the possible abstentions of Algeria, Tunisia (the league's current host) and the PLO, this would still leave 16 votes, over two-thirds of the League's 22 members, in favour of a pro-Jordanian, pro-Egyptian position. The pace of such developments, if they happen at all, do not promise to be particularly rapid.

Still, what may prove to be the latest of the perennial twists and turns of inter-Arab politics surely bears watching.

The writer is a research associate at the Dahan Centre/Sheikh Institute for Middle Eastern and African Studies.

MAKING ALLOWANCES

By WENDY BLUMFIELD

Even a high-school student can earn extra pocket money by babysitting or doing holiday jobs, but the soldier is entirely dependent on his parents. Although he receives a monthly allowance from the army, it bears no relation to his hours of work, and the soldier who is not "home-based" (new immigrants without family for example) can feel very deprived.

As soon as a child is 18, not only

does the National Insurance benefit cease, but income tax allowances are reduced.

The short-term financial situation is illogical enough. But the real pressure is yet to come. While the soldiers are defending their country, their university or further education is delayed by three years for a boy and two for a girl. This means that by the time they are established in a profession, they could be married,

with one or two children.

SINCE THE demographic needs of the State of Israel and the spirit of Halacha actually do agree on the matter of being fruitful and multiplying, it would be sad if young couples delayed child-bearing because they could not yet support a family.

The Atuda system of studying certain subjects before army is no way

comparable to the privileges extended to yeshiva students. The Atuda student completes his basic training before studying and is on call at all times for reserve duty. He is then committed to an extra year or two in the army instead of the standard period of time.

The emotional trauma of sending a child to the army is immeasurable in terms of compensation. Those brief hours of leave are so sweet that a parent will go into overdraft to give him a good time.

But if we are sharing out the national cake, meagre as it is, let us give priority to those who are defending our country and giving the best years of their youth.

The writer is a free-lance journalist living in Haifa.

READERS' LETTERS

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — In his apology explaining the results of his public opinion survey of American Jewry (February 9), Steven Cohen fails to address the most glaring and obvious contradiction of this study. How can any survey reflecting attitudes of Jews towards Israel be accurate or complete, when the American Zionist Movement, the most closely related element involved with Israel, was not included in such a survey?

In attempting to vindicate his position, Cohen points out that American Jews "overwhelmingly endorse the view that Palestinians have a right to a homeland on the West Bank and Gaza, so long as it does not threaten Israel." I suggest that if the question were phrased, "Do Palestinians have a right to a state in Judea and Samaria," Cohen would discover that this supposition would be overwhelmingly rejected.

To make his point, Mr. Cohen mentions the results of the recent Zionist Congress, but fails to indicate that, while the delegates voted on their preference regarding

expenditures for development towns, no resolution was passed calling for a settlement freeze. In fact, when such a resolution was offered in the subcommittee on resolutions, it was overwhelmingly defeated. It is not surprising that American Jews, as most Jews throughout the world, lean toward a "dovish" point of view. No one party or individual has an exclusive desire for peace. But being "dovish" does not mean that American Jews, any more than most Israelis, believe in capitulation.

In view of the possibility that Mr. Cohen personally represents a very dovish element in the U.S., his rationalization and explanation of the results of his poll are understandable.

PAUL FLACKS,
Executive Vice-President,
Zionist Organization of America

Jerusalem (New York).

ARGENTINA'S RECORD

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I have only just seen the letter of the Argentine Chargé d'Affaires commenting on my article "Hope for change in Argentina." He writes: "Argentina never has accepted the similarity of the concepts of Zionism and racism, nor the labelling of Israel as racist." While it is true that Argentina did not actually support the unwarranted allegations, neither did she reject them. In the notorious UN vote on Zionism of November 10, 1975, Argentina abstained.

C.C. ARONSFELD
Harrow, England.

CALLING IMMIGRANTS FROM DOWN UNDER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — In your recent supplement on Israel-Australia, you quote former Australian Eliyahu Honig as saying that "Australians don't really need" *hithadut* (settlers' association). "They can stand on their own feet."

Whilst we agree that Australians generally absorb easily into Israel's social fabric, there are still a significant number who don't "make it" and return to Australia. An association would benefit those in this category, as well as any ex-Aussie

(or Kiwi) who occasionally wishes to recall a bit of the Down Under *savoir-faire*.

We are pleased to announce that the *Hithadut Olei Australia-New Zealand* has been re-established. A regular newsletter is being prepared, and a "Down Under Night" is to take place on the first Tuesday of every month at the Prince of Wales Pub in Tel Aviv. For further details, please contact us at P.O.B. 22305, Tel Aviv. DENA and JONATHAN LESTER, Tel Aviv.

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